

# The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 13, 1873.

## The Week.

WE have as yet to hear of any newspaper or man of any influence and reputation for financial sagacity who is in favor of inflation. Indeed, one of the most remarkable things about the present crisis is that, though it is taken for granted on all hands that Congress, as soon as it meets, must inflate, the avowed object of every one who speaks or writes on the subject, including the President and Secretary of the Treasury, is to get back to specie payments as soon as possible. It is also a singular fact that the cheaper money gets (it has been lent at 5 per cent. within the past week), and the more greenbacks come into the banks, and so into the circulation again, the louder becomes the cry for another issue of legal tenders. The Chamber of Commerce of this city has now this subject under consideration, and they might do a very good thing by exposing, by the publication of a few simple figures, the absurdity and impudence of the truculent beggars who are now getting ready for their descent upon the Treasury at Washington.

Messrs. W. A. A. Carsey, G. W. Maddox, and H. M. Walton have petitioned the President to call immediately an extra session of Congress, and begin work on the internal improvements which he recommended in his last message, and at the same time issue some legal tenders to set the financial machine in operation again. These gentlemen, however, do not ask it as a personal favor, but as representing the Federal Council of the International Workingmen's Association, and their proposal is of some importance as an example of the kind of appeal that will be made to the Government during the winter. The sum and substance of all the talk one now hears about internal improvements, and "the duty of the Government in this hour of our financial trouble," is simply this, that every large insolvent corporation, and almost every insolvent individual, in the country is going on to Washington, or going to get somebody else to go on to Washington, to get a few greenbacks, or to get a little employment on Government work, or to get a small guarantee of bonds; and the Government may as well make up its mind first as last that the alternative before it is to pay everybody's debts or pay nobody's.

The Pennsylvania Reformers are having a fight with their Ring almost as important as the struggle with Tweed, in this city, two years ago. The Ring is determined to prevent the adoption of the constitution, and the Constitutional Convention is determined to prevent frauds in the vote on this question, which takes place next month. For this purpose the Convention passed an ordinance before adjourning that the vote should be taken in Philadelphia under the supervision of a special commission, and not under the Ring registry law. It seems hardly credible, but it is nevertheless a fact that the Ring have got Chief-Justice Read to write a letter declaring the act of the Convention illegal. The Pennsylvania Assembly, it seems, undertook to pass an act imposing certain limitations on the Convention, one of which was that the vote on the amended constitution should be taken under the Registry law. If the Assembly can limit the Convention's powers in one way, it can in another, and it follows logically and inevitably that the Assembly can take away all power from the Convention, and, in that way, from the people, and, in fact, pocket the State of Pennsylvania, and do whatever they please with it. This question about the powers of constitutional conventions has arisen a dozen times in American politics, and it is in reality a practical question, and not a legal one. The Secretary of State says that he shall disregard the constitutional ordinance in issuing election notices, and affairs seem to be in a very critical condition.

The case of the Bank of England forgers has had a curious sequel. It will be remembered that in March last the head of the gang, George Macdonnell, was arrested on board the *Thuringia* as she was entering this port, and, greatly to the surprise of the counsel of the Bank of England, was found to have nothing of value in his possession. The arrest was made by Captain James Irving and Officer James Farley of the detective force; and these two officers are now being tried by the Police Commissioners for having secured and appropriated the proceeds of the forgery which it was expected would be found on the person of Macdonnell. From the evidence in the case these facts are clear: For the purpose of arresting Macdonnell, the New York counsel for the Bank—Messrs. Blatchford, Seward, Griswold, and Da Costa—had secured the services last spring of Pinkerton's Private Detective Agency (a rival of the municipal force), when suddenly Irving and Farley appeared on the scene with an order from Inspector Bailey, of the London police. They told the firm very plainly that they, and nobody else, were going to arrest Macdonnell, and, by their threats, secured employment in the case. The firm, however, not feeling very safe, got Deputy-Sheriff Judson Jarvis "deputized" as United States marshal to co-operate with Irving and Farley. The *Thuringia* was boarded by Irving and Farley, but Mr. Judson Jarvis was prevented by the quarantine officers in charge from coming on board, and, when he at last did get on the ship, Macdonnell had nothing in his possession.

Mr. Jarvis is of the opinion that while he was trying to get on board Macdonnell was "cleaned out" by the detectives, and some of the evidence points that way. Macdonnell is an old New York forger, well known to the police here; and as he was a man of education, and had capital at his command, it was antecedently probable that he would make any arrangements he could with the police. He has made a confession, in which he says that he telegraphed Irving to meet him first on the *Cuba* and then on the *Thuringia*; that when Irving and Farley appeared on board, and explained to him that they should be obliged to arrest him, he handed to them \$17,250 in U. S. bonds, a draft for £500, and a diamond ring worth £400, on the express understanding that it was to be used for his defence in New York; but that, though often requested, they kept all of it, except \$6,000 in bonds, which they returned. The detectives deny the whole story, and the evidence is hopelessly conflicting. Indeed, most of the evidence is not in the case at all, for the Police Commissioners, who are trying it, have got an opinion from the learned Corporation Counsel, Mr. Delafield Smith, in which he takes the ground that the confession of Macdonnell must not be regarded at all, chiefly because Macdonnell is a felon. It will be news to most people that the only way to enquire into the character of a public employee, like a detective, is by the aid of the common-law rules of evidence; but then an enquiry into character by Hugh Gardner, Oliver Charlick, and "Hank" Smith, guided by legal opinions furnished by Delafield Smith, the accused being defended by Oakey Hall, is a curiosity in itself.

The labor question is attracting the attention of the authorities in Brooklyn, and a movement is on foot to get the city to spend a hundred thousand dollars in securing "the largest possible relief to the most needy and deserving laborers." The discharge of laborers all over the country seems to be considerable, and it is certainly the duty of those in comfortable circumstances to relieve distress during the coming winter. Issuing town or city bonds is not the way to do it. The money for the loans must be raised by taxation, and the increased taxation will fall next year on the very workingmen who now get the aid, and then more loans will have to be raised in Brooklyn and elsewhere. If any city in the United States wishes to ruin its credit, the way to do it is to get some enterprising broker to market a few issues of bonds in aid of the suffering poor.

The trial of Tweed has begun, or rather a beginning has been made of getting a jury for the purpose of the trial. The counsel for the defence at first resorted to the extraordinary device of submitting to Judge Davis a paper suggesting to him that he was biased against the prisoner, and therefore unfit to try the case. This not unnaturally occasioned a little warmth of feeling, and on a subsequent day a disgraceful scene occurred, in which that distinguished jurist, Mr. Wm. O. Bartlett, having been told that a point was decided, and that the Court wished to hear no more argument upon the matter, requested to know whether he might not cite a case; on being asked what case he had in mind, he began with some distant allusions to the late Chief-Justice Chase, apparently meaning to draw a moral from Mr. Chase's politico-judicial career for the benefit of Judge Davis; but he was again told to sit down. The difficulty of getting impartial and at the same time highly intelligent jurors for such trials as this was well illustrated on Monday in the case of Mr. Daniel Bradley. Mr. Bradley, who had been drawn as juror, was a citizen for seven years of Tweed's ward (the Seventh), by occupation a stable-keeper, and about thirty-five years old. He testified that he had formed no opinion as to Tweed's guilt; should not know him (here he pointed at Tweed himself, who was in court) "if he was sitting right there"; had heard plenty of talk about Tweed, but had enough to do to mind his own business without forming opinions; did not know whether he had ever voted for Tweed, for he had generally voted the Democratic ticket straight, apparently without knowing the names on it; had heard that Wm. M. Tweed and Green (the Comptroller) were "engaged together in frauds," and "didn't want to get on the jury a bit." His answers caused a great deal of merriment, and he was challenged peremptorily by the prosecution.

No explanation has as yet been given of the \$187,000 illegally deposited by the Secretary of the Treasury with the First National Bank of Washington, and lost in the panic on the bank's failure. It is now said, however, that the Secretary, frightened at the noise made in the newspapers on the subject, induced Jay Cooke & Co. to deposit securities with the Government to the amount of \$200,000, thus making the Treasury safe. Where Jay Cooke & Co. got this money, no one seems to know, as the firm are insolvent, and making terms with their creditors; and the creditors of Jay Cooke & Co. and the First National Bank, who find the Government treated as having a preferred claim, are naturally alarmed. Altogether, it is a very mysterious piece of business, and one which will need clearing up.

The Canadian Opposition has gained a decided victory, and forced the resignation of the ministry. After a long debate on the Pacific Railroad scandal, at the close of which Sir J. Macdonald made a speech in which he defended himself on all sorts of grounds, among others that he had done nothing more than many other ministers both in Canada and out of it, the temper of the House of Commons was so clearly adverse that he suddenly sent in his resignation. A new ministry was at once formed, with McKenzie as Premier, and Parliament was prorogued. It has since come out, greatly to the disgust of the Opposition, that just before retiring the ministry filled a number of vacant offices.

It seems useless, in the present uncertainty as to the facts, to attempt to say exactly what the "case of the *Virginus*" amounts to. The facts known are that, on the 23d instant, the steamer left Kingston, Jamaica, having on board a large number of Cubans and a quantity of war material. She sailed under the American flag and had American papers. The *Virginus* was subsequently overhauled by the Spanish gun-boat *Tornado*, and taken into Santiago de Cuba, where four of the passengers were at once shot, according to official dispatch to the Captain-General, "for being traitors to their country, and for being insurgent chiefs." Their names were "Bernabe Varona, alias Bambeta, general of division; Pedro Cespedes, commanding general of Cienfuegos; General Jesus de Sol; and Briga-

dier-General Washington Ryan"—the last an old Cuban filibuster and American citizen. Where the *Virginus* was boarded, whether on the high seas or not, is not yet clear, and the matter is already the subject of correspondence and negotiation between the Spanish Government and our own. The Cubans have held an indignation meeting in New York, but sympathy with either side seems to be quite wasted. The Cuban sympathizers are spending their days and nights in trying to embroil this country in a quarrel with Spain, and the Spaniards in return (who cannot govern their own country) are shooting and cutting the throats of the sympathizers wherever they find them. The American Consul at Santiago, it is said, was absent without leave; but he denies this.

Beyond the report of a severe defeat sustained by the Republican troops at the hands of the Carlists, there is little that is new in the affairs of Spain. But it is certain that things improve under Castelar. The army is gaining in discipline and numbers; this may be said without saying much for its present condition, which the continued resistance of the Intransigentes and Carlists shows to be poor at best; but any change for the better gives more certainty about the future. Then the chiefs of the Conservative and Radical parties which divided the old Cortes under Amadeus, have at last decided to give in their adhesion to the Republic *de facto*, as represented by Castelar's dictatorship. The Conservatives have held a meeting in Madrid, at the house of Admiral Topete, under the presidency of Marshal Serrano, at which, without coming to any conclusion about monarchy or republic, it was agreed to support the present government in the restoration of public order. The Radicals met under the auspices of Senor Martos, and made overtures for union of action with the Conservatives, who refused to have anything to say to them; but they then passed resolutions binding themselves to support a republic based on the national unity, the most absolute integrity of the Spanish territory, and the decentralization "established by the constitution of 1869, and to combat by all lawful means within their power the application of the federative system to the Spanish Republic."

The letter of the Comte de Chambord, besides making him an impossible candidate, naturally has had a dissolving effect on the Legitimist majority, and one of its first results was the desertion of a considerable portion of the Left Centre, which had voted with the Monarchists at the overthrow of Thiers, and this now leaves it very doubtful whether they could hold their ground in an open fight in the Assembly. The only piece of comfort which has fallen to them since Chambord's *fiasco* is to be found in MacMahon's message, in which he says the Government must have more power and a more permanent tenure of office if it is to preserve order. He causes it to be understood also that, if the Republic is definitively proclaimed, he will not remain President, though he has no objection to command the army. These declarations and hints have opened up the road to a compromise, by which the Republic is not to be definitively proclaimed, but MacMahon's powers and the present provisional state of things are to be prolonged for five years at least, and which at this writing is likely to be adopted. In this way, the Monarchists obtain a respite, during which they hope "something will turn up," and the Republicans obtain a further chance of familiarizing the people with republican forms, and associating the Republic in the popular mind with order and tranquillity.

Those who are dissatisfied with the present state of things in France, and long for the meeting of a Constituent Assembly to draw up a brand-new constitution, would do well to read Mr. Freeman's paper, in the last *Fortnightly*, on the growth of commonwealths, in which he repeats, and enforces with numerous illustrations, a suggestion made many months ago in these columns, that the government which the French are now building up, piecemeal, as the wants of the hour dictate and as party struggles will permit, is, as long as the work is done peaceably, and in fair parliamentary fight, far more



likely to last and be useful than any "fundamental law" which could be drafted by a Constitutional Convention. In fact, we do not hesitate to say that the majority is rendering France one of the greatest services she has ever received in refusing to dissolve, and thus accustoming the country to the spectacle of constitutional changes, without bloodshed, "manifestations," or "appeals." If constitutions drawn up by "thinkers" on "great principles" could save nations, France would now be the happiest and best-governed country on the globe.

Mr. Richardson's plan of secret resumption, if successful, would be hailed with delight by several other countries which are laboring in a heavy sea of paper money. Austria, France, Italy, and Turkey are all in financial difficulties. Austria has been bearing an irredeemable paper for over twenty years, and is just going through the first panic, produced by the upward turn taken by the Empire after 1866. The establishment of representative institutions in that year, the pacification of Hungary, and the release from Venetia, gave a prodigious impetus to industrial and commercial enterprise, and the progress of the country has since that period been very remarkable; in fact, it may be said to have emerged from mediæval into modern life. The consequence has been a rapid growth of habits of speculation, which the preparations for the great Exposition of last summer stimulated to a deplorable degree, resulting in the panic of last April. That panic was momentarily suppressed by Government making heavy loans, but there was no real recovery. Confidence has been declining all summer, under the spectacle of the commercial failure of the Exposition, and the innumerable financial and banking companies which have sprung up during the last seven years have been gradually going to the wall, and the panic has now broken out worse than ever. It is agreed, on all hands, that these institutions, representing a nominal capital of about \$70,000,000, will have to be wound up somehow, and it is proposed to take their shares at their real value, and out of the whole build up one big bank, a process which a syndicate composed of the Rothschilds and two other houses are trying to bring about. Among the other catastrophes of the crisis, and one which will illustrate its nature, is the collapse of thirteen building companies, which were organized to erect buildings on the land reclaimed by the regulation of the banks of the Danube. They bid against each other for lots offered for sale by the Government, broke down in the first panic; then tried to pull through by coalition, and now collapse altogether.

In Italy, the deficit for the current year is expected to reach at least \$30,000,000 in a revenue of \$260,000,000, and some estimate it as high as \$50,000,000; and the debt is \$807,472,920, and there is a full supply of irredeemable paper. In France, the situation is fully as perplexing. The Bank of France was, before the war, the greatest and perhaps the most carefully managed in the world. It suspended specie payments after the war, but never had paper enough out to depreciate it sensibly, and gold and paper circulate nearly at par; or rather, the paper circulates nearly at par, for the gold has disappeared. The times, too, are growing bad in France. The indemnity to Germany begins to tell, because the money to pay it was borrowed, and people now begin to feel fairly the burden of the loan; and as all classes are economizing, and the political future is very uncertain, business is bad and grows worse. Applications for discount begin to press on the bank, and it has not money to meet them, and has raised its rate of interest to stave them off. But the necessity of issuing more paper, and thus parting company with gold, stares it in the face, and specie payments recede visibly into the remote distance.

Poor old Turkey brings up the rear among nations in difficulties. She, like a great many gentlemen in this country at the present moment, is laden down with "assets" on which she finds difficulty in "realizing." She has borrowed, between 1854 and 1871, \$354,810,

000, and we believe the financiers in London and Amsterdam are just now enquiring with some anxiety what has become of the money, and it appears that a very large share of it has gone into palaces, and iron-clads, and jewelry, while no Turkish port possesses a good wharf or public warehouse, there are no roads through the interior, the taxes are farmed out, the total debt is \$733,620,000, and there is every year a heavy deficit in the revenue. Another loan is now needed, but lenders have grown wary, so extensive reforms are promised. The Minister of Foreign Affairs writes to London that the *Vacouf*—real estate belonging to the mosques—is to be "secularized," and sold outright in Constantinople, and throughout the rest of the empire subjected to taxation. The tax on tobacco, hitherto only levied at Constantinople, is to be extended to the rest of the country. The stamp tax is to be collected with greater efficiency, and the public mines and forests leased to the highest bidder, and improvements are to be made in the general system of collecting. Nevertheless, as these are all nothing but promises, the "moneyed mind" still hesitates, and asks for proofs. Which ever way we look in Europe, political finance is in a bad condition, which furnishes another strong argument for our getting out of the slough while we may.

The Japanese Government, to complete its imitation of European civilization, aims at establishing a foreign postal service under the control of its own officials, and has made a convention with the United States, which will likewise be pressed for acceptance upon all the Treaty Powers. This news has been received with anything but favor by foreign residents, who have under their eyes the "abject failure" of the telegraphic and railroad enterprises of the Japanese. The Americans, especially, look with alarm on the proposal to entrust their letters to Japanese officials; and we do not know that their confidence will be wholly restored by the appointment, as superintendent of foreign mails, of "a gentleman whose acquaintance with his duties is best vouched for by the fact that he occupied the 'British desk' in the Post-office at Washington." We have formerly had occasion to point out the low grade of American civil servants in the employ of Japan; and, while we know nothing—not even the name—of the superintendent just mentioned, we venture to think that his nationality does not afford all the assurance which the American, let alone the European, resident requires in the present instance. We are credibly informed that the need of the service first occurred to the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, and that both the agent who negotiated the convention in Japan and the minister who supported him have interested relations with the company. This may or may not be the case; and if it is, it must be admitted that the innovation is only a logical development of the transformation of the Japanese Government, and was sure to be attempted sooner or later. That it will share the unsuccess of kindred experiments, and will for a time inflict a certain amount of damage on foreign interests in the country, is also pretty certain.

The steps which Japan is taking to educate native civil servants, and which consist chiefly in sending them abroad, are not producing the desired fruit. There are some exceptions to the following picture of them which we take from the *Japan Mail*, but it is applicable in the main:

"The majority of these youths come back to their own country with the most imperfect understanding of what they have seen elsewhere, a superficial smattering of two or three 'ologies' or 'isms,' a taste for beef and beer, and a prodigious contempt for their own country. They are insolent to their fellows, ambitious of the notice of foreigners, contemptuous towards the learning and traditions of Japan, and profoundly ignorant of ours. Their minds, which might have been of some use if developed at home, bear the same relation to those of their more regularly educated countrymen who have remained in Japan as gruel does to good solid brain matter. They have not a single well-defined thought or belief, except the conviction of their immeasurable superiority over the general average of their fellows. Their language is euphuistic and absurd. If educated in America, they deliver themselves of the feeblest platitudes on the subject of republican institutions; if in England, they are equally profound in praise of monarchy. Of the working or meaning, of the safeguards or dangers, of the underlying principles, of the advantages and disadvantages, of these two widely different systems, they know no more than a child does of conic sections."

## THE PROPOSED SCHEME OF INFLATION.

IT is all but certain that a vigorous effort will be made in the coming session of Congress, not to return to specie payments, but to inflate the currency, and postpone indefinitely a return to specie payments. The West will probably support this plan very energetically, and it will meet, we fear, only a half-hearted opposition from the Eastern members, for the very simple reason that the monetary crisis through which the country is passing has proved so severe that nearly everybody, whatever his general opinions may be on the conditions of sound finance, has an almost overwhelming personal interest in the provision of an immediate escape from the present trouble. Everybody who owes money, or who has investments which have undergone "shrinkage," or the future of which the present stringency has endangered, no matter how honest-minded he may be, or however deeply convinced of the dangers of irredeemable paper, will be himself easily reconciled to a measure which promises to defer the evil day, and to give him a chance of getting rid of his encumbrances before the "grand crash" comes.

The form which the proposed inflation will take, and in which it will be recommended, we are assured, in the President's Message, is already foreshadowed. We have it lying on our table in a dozen printed pamphlets or programmes, and Treasurer Spinner has set it forth with some elaboration in his recent report. Stripped of details and technicalities, the plan is substantially this: That the United States should issue a certain quantity of bonds, bearing interest at 3½% per annum, and should issue an equal quantity of greenbacks, which should be exchangeable for the bonds, the bonds being also exchangeable for greenbacks at par at pleasure of the holders. The theory of the plan is that it would supply the currency with that "elasticity" in which the present crisis has shown that it is wanting, and which is supplied to redeemable currency by the action of foreign exchange. That is to say, when money was plenty, or, in other words, lying idle—in the summer, for instance—the owners, instead of handing it over to the New York banks to be lent by them to brokers for purposes of speculation, would put it into the bonds for the sake of the interest, and then, when it was wanted again in the fall "to move the crops," would draw it out. In short, the Government would, at a small annual cost in interest, supply a machine by which the process of contraction and expansion could be carried on by the people themselves as their wants might dictate. If too much money is afloat, it is argued, it will be taken out of circulation and put into bonds; if too little, the bonds will be used to draw it forth; and, as the history of the greenbacks has shown, currency thus issued and secured will at all times command as much of popular confidence as, if not more than, any redeemable paper ever did. The great defect of our present currency is, it is said, not that it is not redeemable in coin, for the community, we see, values it as much as if it were, but that no power to expand it is lodged anywhere; and it is to the exercise of this power of expansion we must always look, as the history of the Bank of England proves, to prevent or mitigate panics. The "reserve" has never yet prevented one, much importance as some writers attach to it. In fact, in every monetary crisis, from which England has suffered, it seems to have served no purpose but to increase the popular terror by the spectacle of its decline.

What, then, are the objections to the proposed plan? If, as many good judges think, we are suffering from a scarcity of legal-tenders, what is the harm of issuing more of them, if we provide the means of natural contraction when they are in excess? The answer to this question is, it seems to us, obvious, and it is an answer which is to be found on every page of financial history. The proposed issue would be inflation pure and simple, and would, in spite of the convertibility into bonds, have all the consequences of inflation. The bonds would, in fact, serve no other purpose than that of supplying the country banks with a place of safe deposit for their unemployed balances during the hot weather, and might thus, in some slight degree, restrain speculation in Wall Street. It would do nothing whatever to prevent or mitigate the fall and winter stringency,

and for the simple reason, which all inflationists overlook, *that all issues of irredeemable paper are at once absorbed, irretrievably, by the consequent rise in prices*, and that once they have entered into prices there is no means of extracting them but *forcible contraction*. Suppose we have now \$400,000,000 greenbacks afloat, and we add to this \$50,000,000 more. The new issue at once raises prices, and thus renders \$450,000,000 as necessary to the discharge of the ordinary business of the country as the \$400,000,000 were previously. In other words, every man needs \$4 50 to produce the result which he had previously produced with \$4; and, this process once accomplished, the notion that your \$50,000,000 will ever go back into bonds is a chimera, and one of a very dangerous sort, which has been a hundred times exposed, and which, nevertheless, is continually reproduced as the basis of new schemes of inflation. \$5,000,000 or \$10,000,000 might possibly every summer, for a year or two, go back to Washington in the dull season, but the quantity would steadily diminish. The pressure of trade on the currency limits would be speedily as great as ever, and the demand for further expansion—that is, for more greenbacks and more bonds—would be as loud in four or five years as now, and would be supported by the same arguments. The phenomena of the financial situation would be the same as now; the fever of speculation, excited by the prospect of indefinite, never-ending inflation, would be higher than it has ever been, and in a very short time we should have to seek relief in a general "wiping out," or, in other words, national bankruptcy.

The use of redeemability in coin, as we all now know, or ought to know, is to keep up our monetary connection with the other civilized nations. To say that foreign exchange may be left to take care of itself as long as our foreign trade amounts to \$1,000,000,000 a year and is yearly increasing, and our payments of interest abroad to \$100,000,000, is useless. As long as this is the case, the state of the foreign market must be a serious consideration to us. But, in addition to this, it is only through monetary connection with the civilized world that any natural check on undue expansion can be exercised. If we were in proper monetary relations with the rest of the world, or, in other words, if our paper were redeemable in coin, we could not issue too much, or enough to affect prices permanently in our own country; because, as soon as this tendency to a rise showed itself, all persons having payments to make abroad in behalf of those who use foreign goods would begin to contract the currency by exporting bullion; and they would do this, not in the hot weather, or for the pious purpose of preventing speculation, but at all seasons of the year, in the ordinary course of their business; and it is on the conduct of the mass of men in the ordinary course of their business that all sound financial legislation has to be based. Currency, on the other hand, which men cannot contract in the ordinary course of their business by diffusing it over other countries, inevitably and permanently raises prices, and all efforts to prevent it by offering them tempting little investments in Government bonds will prove futile.

What we are saying here is not, we beg our readers to remember, any theory of our own. It is an inference from the experience of many ages and many nations. It is firmly imbedded in financial science, and we most earnestly trust that the thinking people of the country will examine it, and lay fast hold of it, in this most serious juncture, and not be led away by fantastic theories and quack remedies. We stand at the parting of two ways—one leads through some suffering, much of which has been already endured, to as sound a currency as human nature and the physical conditions of human life admit of; the other leads rapidly through several stages of drunken enjoyment to a bottomless pit of repudiation. The adoption of the proposed plan of issuing interchangeable bonds and greenbacks would be an unmistakable choice of the latter. Fresh issues would be called for year after year, and with the same result. Our financial separation from the rest of the world would grow wider and wider; the disadvantages of our producers in the markets of the world, and the consequent difficulty of the profitable exportation of any commodity but bullion,



would become greater and greater; we should consequently have that famous old "balance of trade" perennially against us, and have the Boutwells and Kelleys for ever inviting us to try to turn it in our favor by piling on higher duties, and have them continually telling us, when it would not turn, that it was because American industry was "not sufficiently protected." The story is an old one; it is one of the most familiar now in human experience. We surely can extract some wisdom from it.

#### THE RESULTS OF "HARMONY AND DISCIPLINE" IN NEW YORK.

TO make inferences from the results of the fall elections in "off-years" as to the general political drift of opinion, is usually unsafe. Since the war, the money and men controlled by the politicians who manage the State governments have been so small in comparison with the money and men controlled by the central power at Washington, that to maintain a continued direction of the affairs of the country, vigorous action once in four years has been quite enough. Provided the country can be induced once in four years to confide the great machinery of the civil service to the dominant party, it makes less difference now than formerly what is done at intermediate periods. Looking back for a period of twelve years, we may see that since the Republican party came into power, there have been ebbs and flows of the tide at almost regularly alternating biennial periods. In 1860, Mr. Lincoln was elected; in 1862, there was a Democratic revival; in 1864, Mr. Lincoln was re-elected by an overwhelming majority; in 1865, there was again a Democratic revival; in 1868, General Grant was elected by a decisive vote; in 1870, there was a "conservative" reaction; in 1872, General Grant was re-elected by an overwhelming vote; and now, in 1873, we see again the movement in the direction of "conservatism" begin which will undoubtedly by next year have attained considerable strength. Whether it will be followed by the usual Republican "tidal wave" in 1876 remains to be seen; but the steady alternation of ebb and flow for the past twelve years is enough to make us hesitate before we draw any very far-reaching moral as to the next Presidential election from this autumn's vote.

Nevertheless, the falling-off in the Republican vote this year has been so unusually enormous that some explanation seems necessary, and the explanation given by the leading Republican organs themselves is a simple one—that of gross mismanagement. Of what sort the mismanagement has been, the canvass in this State has furnished a most conspicuous illustration. A year ago, the grasp of the Republican party on New York seemed as firm as the most ardent partisan could have desired. It had in its control not merely the well-disciplined force of the largest custom-house in the country, but it had the prestige of an overwhelming victory in the Presidential election; and, more than this, it had fortunately allied itself with, and to a very great extent obtained the direction of, the Reform movement—the only really popular movement which had taken place in municipal politics for many years; while at the same time everything gained to the Republicans by the rising against Tweed's Ring had been doubly lost to the Democrats through the long association in the public mind of corruption with the dominance of the Democratic party. More than this, by very skilful manœuvres, the leading Republican politicians freed themselves from any suspicion of alliance with the faction known as Apollo Hall—an organization got up, as every one in the city knew, by a leading Democratic politician of the lowest order, for the purpose of selling its vote to the highest bidder.

Affairs being in this position, what was the true policy for the Republicans to adopt—not to adopt as moralists and children of light, but as children of this world, as politicians endowed with ordinary shrewdness? Obviously, it was to associate themselves so intimately with the Reformers, and manifest publicly such an utter loathing of all corrupt alliances and all bargains and sales of votes, as to convince the solid, respectable, and intelligent part of the community that there was but one way to obtain the fruits of reform—

by voting the Republican ticket straight. But this is not the way in which the politicians looked at all. To judge by what they have done, at least, the leaders evidently regarded the party vote as a force which only needed a proper amount of exhortation and intimidation to bring it out, in accordance with a theory of long standing that, no matter what nominations are made, the voter can be made to cast his vote by an appeal to "harmony," and, no matter what scandalous wire-pulling may go on in caucuses and committees, the leaders themselves can be forced to work in harness by the more forcible means of "discipline."

Looking at the matter, for instance, simply as politicians, one would have said that a winning card for the Republicans to have played this year was the renomination of General Barlow. General Barlow's name was one of the chief connecting links between the party and the Reform movement. He had been concerned in the prosecution of the Erie thieves, and was now engaged in the prosecution of the members of the Tammany Ring themselves. He had distinguished himself in the army; his reputation was above suspicion; and, more than all, his name was widely and favorably known. He was eminently a public character. Besides this, it was understood by every one that the dishonest Republican politicians, and particularly the members of the "Canal Ring," were opposed to General Barlow, who had himself written a letter denouncing the principal member of the Ring, Mr. William B. Taylor, as a corrupt and venal man. A child in politics would have foreseen, under these circumstances, that if the managers dropped General Barlow, this letter would unquestionably see the light, be read by every human being in the State, and disgust every human being who read it.

The reason why General Barlow was dropped was the necessity of maintaining what is called harmony. It was the necessity of maintaining "discipline" which led to the affair in the Eighteenth Assembly District in this city—small in itself, but important as an indication of the way things have been going. The Eighteenth Assembly District lies in the upper portion of this city, and is inhabited partly by the class of men who furnished the bone and sinew of the Reform movement—men of wealth, intelligence, and, in the main, taking little or no interest in the game of politics as it is usually played. It embraces a much larger portion of ignorant and easily-controlled voters, who can be "voted" in any way the dominant party pleases. Two years ago, the Republicans having, as they supposed, secured the support of the Reformers of the district, put up as candidate for the Assembly Mr. Bernard Biglin, a man of extremely doubtful antecedents himself, and belonging to a class—that of "professional rowing-men"—which has always been in very bad odor. To set on foot some religious enterprise for the Christianization of the heathen by placing at its head an active gambler, would not be much more singular than to select a "professional rowing-man" as a Reform candidate. These general considerations, however, there was no necessity of applying in this case, for any one who had ever seen Mr. Bernard Biglin knew him to be totally unfitted by cultivation or natural endowments for the position he was called upon to fill. The rich and intelligent voters protested, but they were solemnly assured by the managers that no one but Mr. Biglin would have any chance, and that the discipline of the party required them to vote for him.

A few gentlemen nominated an independent candidate of reputation and ability, and the result showed that the Republicans had quite enough votes to spare to make it a ridiculous absurdity to say that their candidate—commonly known as "Barney Biglin"—was a necessity to the party. The independent candidate secured a very respectable vote, but Barney was elected, and Barney went to the Legislature. What he did there is best known to himself, for he is not a man to distinguish himself in debate; but this year, if it will be believed, he was again nominated, and the most wealthy and intelligent part of his constituents again bolted. This year the independent candidate was Mr. William G. Choate, a man of education, position, and reputation, between whom and Mr. Biglin it would be ridiculous to institute comparisons;

but Mr. Biglin had secured the regular party nomination, and Mr. Biglin must be elected. Party discipline must be maintained at all hazards, and so in the chief Republican organ and chief Reform newspaper appeared paragraphs exhorting the supporters of Mr. Choate to abandon him and vote the straight ticket, arguing, of course, exactly as the case had been argued before, that no one but Mr. Biglin could be elected. The result is exactly what might have been expected. Mr. Biglin is again declared elected; but this year, some queer facts connected with the returns appear. The returns themselves are not made known by the Republican and Reform Police Commissioners till the day after the election, and loud cries of fraud are raised. The knowing Democrats call a meeting of Tammany Hall, and, amid much virtuous indignation, Mr. Oliver Charlick is expelled from the Tammany Committee for connivance at these frauds; so that the result of two years' disciplining of the voters of a single Republican and Reform district is the confirmation of the old suspicion that, no matter how much interest a man of intelligence and education may take in politics, he can effect nothing, and will be defrauded in the end.

As for the alliance made this year with Apollo Hall, we hardly know how to speak of it at all. It is so impossible to understand the calculations on which this alliance was based, that one feels almost inclined to attribute it to the machinations of the malignant European despots who, a few years ago, took such delight in any development in American politics which pointed to "a failure of free institutions." Why any one in the world should have supposed that a bargain with Apollo Hall would enure to the advantage of the party, particularly after its overtures had just been rejected with contempt by Tammany itself, and the alliance had been declined the year before on high moral grounds, we cannot imagine. But, whatever may have been the origin of the delusion, the alliance was effected, and, the alliance having been effected, party "fidelity" required that the ticket should be swallowed. Down to the very last day before the election, the *Times* was exhorting its readers to vote for the ticket as a whole, not because it approved of the alliance with Apollo Hall, or the rejection of General Barlow, but for the sake of "discipline" and "harmony."

And now the din of battle is over, the vote has been polled, and the Democrats have carried the State and the Senate; and on turning to the columns of the newspaper to which we have just referred—the same newspaper which advised the voters of one of the most important districts in the State to vote for "Barney Biglin," for the sake of "harmony," and swallowed the rejection of Barlow and the nomination of Taylor as a matter of "discipline," and exhorted Republicans to vote the straight ticket after the alliance with Apollo Hall for the sake of "harmony" and "discipline" together—what does this newspaper say? It says that the defeat of its party was due to these causes—putting up "all sorts of candidates" for office, and trusting to the "party papers" to "pull them through"; leaving "the management of the party in New York in two or three hands" of such a character that the *Times* does not like to mention them by name; and the alliance with Apollo Hall. We might add some reflections of our own on the queer reputation for extraordinary shrewdness which our politicians have managed to acquire, and the evidence of this shrewdness shown in the result of this election, but they are reflections which "make themselves."

#### THE ODIUM PHILOLOGICUM.

OUR readers and those of the *Galaxy* are familiar with the controversy between Dr. Fitzedward Hall and Mr. Grant White, of which Mr. White announces the close, so far as he is concerned, in our issue of to-day. When one comes to enquire what it was all about, and why Mr. White was led to consider Dr. Hall a "yahoo of literature," and "a man born without a sense of decency," one finds himself engaged in an investigation of great difficulty, but of considerable interest. The controversy between these two gentlemen by no means brings up the problem for the first time. That verbal criticism, such as Mr. White has been producing for some time back, is sure to end sooner or later in one or more savage quarrels, is one of the most familiar facts of the literary life of our day. Indeed, so far as our observation has

gone, the rule has no exceptions. Whenever we see a gentleman, no matter how great his accomplishments or sweet his temper, announcing that he is about to write articles or deliver lectures on "Words and their Uses," or on the "English of Everyday Life," or on "Familiar Faults of Conversation," or "Newspaper English," or any cognate theme, we feel all but certain that we shall soon see him engaged in an encounter with another laborer in the same field, in which all dignity will be laid aside, and in which, figuratively speaking, clothes, hair, and features will suffer terribly, and out of which, unless he is very lucky, he will issue with the gravest imputations resting on his character in every relation of life. We have seen so many illustrations of the tendency of these attempts to improve popular speech to end in vituperation, that we have felt ourselves obliged, in the interests of peace, to exclude them from our columns, and even to decline answering the enquiries of correspondents on nice points of grammar or usage. Our late contemporary, the *Round Table*, having less regard for public order, or greater love of sensation, at a very early period in its brief life engaged the services of a professional word-critic of the name of George Washington Moon, who was then fresh from a very ugly encounter with Dean Alford. The result was a series of rows, in which Moon was compelled to tell several of his adversaries his low opinion of their morals and manners, and in which they repaid him in kind. We might multiply these cases almost indefinitely. If they were collected, they would form a melancholy and yet somewhat amusing appendix to the "Quarrels of Authors."

Now, why is it that attempts to get one's fellow-men to talk correctly, to frame their sentences in accordance with good usage, and take their words from the best authors, have this tendency to arouse some of the worst passions of our nature, and predispose even eminent philologists—men of dainty language, and soft manners, and lofty aims—to assail each other in the rough vernacular of the fish-market and the fore-castle? A careless observer will be apt to say that it is an ordinary result of disputation; that when men differ or argue on any subject, they are apt to get angry, and indulge in "personalities." But this is not true. Lawyers, for instance, live by controversy, and their controversies touch interests of the gravest and most delicate character—such as fortune and reputation; and yet the spectacle of two lawyers abusing each other in cold blood, in print, is almost unknown. Currency and banking are, at certain seasons, subjects of absorbing interest, and, for the last seventy years, the discussions over them have been numerous and voluminous almost beyond example, and yet we remember no case in which a bullionist called a paper-money man bad names, or in which a friend of free banking accused a restrictionist of defrauding the poor or defacing tombstones. Politics, too, home and foreign, is a fertile source of difference of opinion; and yet gross abuse, on paper, of each other, by political disputants, discussing abstract questions having no present relation to power or pay, are very rare indeed. It seems, at first blush, as if an examination of the well-known *odium theologicum*, or the traditional bitterness which has been apt to characterize controversies about points of doctrine, from the Middle Ages down to a period within our own memory, would throw some light on the matter. But a little consideration will show that there are special causes for the rancor of theologians for which word-criticism has no parallel. The *odium theologicum* was the natural and inevitable result of the general belief that the holding of certain opinions was necessary to salvation, and that the formation of opinions could be wholly regulated by the will. This belief, pushed to its extreme limits and embodied in legislation, led to the burning of heretics in nearly all Christian countries. When B's failure to adopt A's conclusions was by A regarded as a sign of depravity of nature which would lead to B's damnation, nothing was more natural than that when they came into collision in pamphlets or sermons they should have attributed to each other the worst motives. A man who was deliberately getting himself ready for perdition was not a person to whom anybody owed courtesy or consideration, or whose arguments, being probably supplied by Satan, deserved respectful examination. We accordingly find that as the list of "essential" opinions has become shortened, and as doubts as to men's responsibility for their opinions have made their way from the world into the church, theological controversy has lost its acrimony and indeed has almost ceased. No theologian of high standing or character now permits himself to show bad temper in a doctrinal or hermeneutical discussion, and a large and increasing proportion of theologians acknowledge that the road to heaven is so hard for us all that the less quarrelling and jostling there is in it, the better for everybody.

Nor does the *odium scientificum*, of which we have now happily but occasional manifestations, furnish us with any suggestions. Controversy between scientific men begins to be bitter and frequent, as the field of investigation grows wider and the investigation itself grows deeper. But then this is easily accounted for. All scientific men of the first rank are engaged in



original research—that is, in attempts to discover laws and phenomena previously unknown. The workers in all departments are very numerous, and are scattered over various countries, and as one discovery, however slight, is very apt to help in some degree in the making of another, scientific men are constantly exposed to having their claims to originality contested, either as regards priority in point of time or completeness. Consequently, they may be said to stand in delicate relations to each other, and are more than usually sensitive about the recognition of their achievements by their brethren—a state of things which, while it cultivates a very nice sense of honor, leads occasionally to encounters in which free-will seems for the moment to get the better of law. The differences of the scientific world, too, are complicated by the theological bearing of a good deal of scientific discovery and discussion, and many a scientific man finds himself either compelled to defend himself against theologians, or to aid theologians in bringing an erring brother to reason.

The true source of the *odium philologicum* is, we think, to be found in the fact that a man's speech is apt to be, or to be considered, an indication of the manner in which he has been bred, and of the character of the company he keeps. Criticism of his mode of using words, or his pronunciation, or the manner in which he compounds his sentences, almost inevitably takes the character of an attack on his birth, parentage, education, and social position; or, in other words, on everything which he feels most sensitive about or holds most dear. If you say that his pronunciation is bad, or that his language is slangy or ill-chosen, you insinuate that when he lived at home with his papa and mamma he was surrounded by bad models, or, in plain English, that his parents were vulgar or ignorant people; when you say that he writes bad grammar, or is guilty of glaring solecisms, or displays want of etymological knowledge, you insinuate that his education was neglected, or that he has not associated with correct speakers. Usually, too, you do all this in the most provoking way by selecting passages from his writings on which he probably prided himself, and separating them totally from the thought of which he was full when he produced them, and then examining them mechanically, as if they were algebraic signs, which he used without knowing what they meant or where they would bring him out. Nobody stands this process very long with equanimity, because nobody can be subjected to it without being presented to the public somewhat in the light of an ignorant, careless, and pretentious donkey. Nor will it do to cite your examples from deceased authors. You cannot do so without assailing some form of expression which an eager, listening enemy is himself in the habit of using, and is waiting for you to take up, and through which he hopes to bring you to shame. No man, moreover, can perform the process without taking on airs which rouse his victim to madness, because he assumes a position not only of grammatical, but, as we have said, of social superiority. He says plainly enough, no matter how polite or scientific he may try to seem, "I was better born and bred than you, and acquired these correct turns of expression, of which you know nothing, from cultivated relatives"; or, "I live in cultivated circles, and am consequently familiar with the best usage, which you, poor fellow! are not. I am therefore able to decide this matter without argument or citations, and your best course is to take my corrections in silence or with thankfulness." It is easy to understand how all interest in orthography, etymology, syntax, and prosody speedily disappears in a controversy of this sort, and how the disputants begin to burn with mutual dislike, and how each longs to inflict pain and anguish on his opponent, and make him, no matter by what means, an object of popular pity and contempt, and make his parts of speech odious and ridiculous. The influence of all good men ought to be directed either to repressing verbal criticism, or restricting indulgence in it to the family circle or to schools and colleges.

#### CHAMBORD AT HIS ZENITH.

PARIS, October 23.

I HAVE thought sometimes of making an essay under the title of "History written by Photographs." As I go daily along the line of the boulevards I can measure, as it were, the tide of popular passions. The faces of the members of the Commune have long since disappeared, as well as those of the members of the Government of the 4th of September; I see no longer Favre, or Trochu, or Cluseret. At one time Thiers filled the whole space; the grim little *bourgeois* seemed to smile, behind his spectacles, on every passer-by. He was so long in power that his bust was made in *terra cotta*; a mere photograph was not enough for him; some unknown sculptor represented him wrapped up in a mantle, in a solemn attitude. The bust is gone, the photographs also. Now the time is come for MacMahon; the old white-haired soldier is represented in a thousand ways, and his wife has also a small share in his popularity; she appears often by his side, while Madame Thiers was never allowed to have a place by her husband. The Princes and Prin-

cesses of Orleans have been constantly shown to the public during the last two years, but they have had to take their place where they could find it. The Comtesse de Paris was sometimes patronized by the Empress Eugénie in her widow's cap; the Comte de Paris seemed to protect the young Prince Imperial, reading a book by the marble bust of his father. The Duc de Nemours, a living image of Henri IV. as we see him on the Pont Neuf, was gazing on Napoleon III. lying on his death-bed. The Duchesse de Chartres was gracefully making way for the Princess Clothilde, the wife of Prince Napoleon. But now we have changed all that; we have a royal family, and all the princes and princesses stand in a row behind the Comte de Chambord; I ought to say behind the King. The Comte de Chambord is the lion of the photograph windows; we see him not only photographed, but engraved (a very fine engraving, by the way), and all the Parisians look eagerly at the features of the man who proudly tells the French: "I need the support of all; but you all need me." The face is noble and animated, the forehead large; the Bourbon expression is somewhat concealed by a moustache and a beard; the hair is sparse on the top of the head. The only rival of the Comte de Chambord at present is the Duc d'Aumale, since the beginning of the Bazaine trial. It is difficult to imagine how eagerly the French of all classes read the debates at Trianon. I know of one newspaper which sells twenty thousand copies more since the trial began than formerly. The poorest peasants in the country, who don't care for politics, will have the last news from Bazaine. The Duc d'Aumale has presided with much impartiality and dignity; he has produced a most favorable impression on men of all parties by his patriotic attitude, and some of the expressions which he has used have become rapidly popular. Of course, he became at once the prey of the photographer; he is seen everywhere with Bazaine. Sometimes the marshal is represented with his wife standing by him and his two young children, one of these on a rocking-horse. This appeal to the sensibilities of the public was found necessary after the interrogations which took place at the court-martial. Madame Bazaine and the boy on the rocking-horse are perhaps the best advocates of the marshal, and will do more for him than M. Lachaud, his lawyer, who said to a friend some time ago, "Why! this Bazaine trial is the biggest trial we have had since *l'affaire Louis XVI.*" He said "*l'affaire Louis XVI.*," just as poor Gaboriau, who died lately, entitled one of his sensational novels "*L'affaire Lerouge.*"

But let us return to the Comte de Chambord. He is now the undisputed king of the shop-windows—we have the Chambord paper, marked with the *fleur-de-lys*; the Chambord perfume, etc. These indications are the material symptoms of an eager desire on the part of the Parisians. Three months ago, the shopkeepers knew very little of the Comte de Chambord. They pronounced him "impossible"; but now he has become, so to speak, the head of the Orleans family, he has renounced the white flag, and taken the position of a constitutional sovereign. He has therefore become "possible," and from possible to necessary there is but a short distance. My Republican friends make reconnaissances in the faubourgs, to Belleville, to Valette, and Montmartre; but those who have returned from the hulks—those who escaped from the jaws of death in the terrible days of the Commune—care little for the Republicans who were at Versailles during the struggle. They don't vote for Rémusat; they vote for Barodet. If there is to be a king, they like the Comte de Chambord quite as much as any other. They will not move a finger for our conservative Republic, for Thiers, even for Gambetta. They want work and good wages; they turn round with contempt on those who did not fight with them, with guns in their hands; upon the *avocats*, who can only fight with their tongues. The faubourgs of Paris are as safe to-day for the Comte de Chambord as the gardens of Frohendorf. Paris is very much in the state in which Henry IV. found it after the dreadful days of the League. The Béarnais found that his capital was well worth a mass; the Comte de Chambord sees that it is worth a tricolor flag. The Commune committed hardly as many horrors as the famous Committee of the *Seize*; the Spahiards kept Paris in fermentation; the Germans saw, from St. Denis, the shells falling on Paris, and witnessed the conflagration of its palaces. They now make pious wishes for the success of the Republic in France. The loyal subjects of Emperor William, who writes to the Pope that his power comes from God, are not willing to see France gathering strength under a hereditary monarchy.

I opened once, after the Commune, the *Satire Ménippée*, and fell upon these lines of the admirable speech of M. d'Aubray, who spoke for the third estate:

"O Paris, which is no longer Paris, but a pit of ferocious beasts, a citadel of Spaniards, of Walloons and Neapolitans; an asylum and a retreat of murderous thieves! will you not remember your dignity, and remember what you have been, seeing what you are; will you never get cured of this frenzy which, for one legitimate and gracious king, has engendered for you fifty kings and fifty tyrants? You are in irons: you are in the hands of the Spanish Inquisition, more intolerable a thousand times, and harder to bear for French-born spirits, than the most cruel deaths."

A few pages further, after having explained the necessity of establishing a national government, and attacked the candidate of Spain, d'Aubray says:

"We want a king—a natural chief, not artificial—a king already made, and not to be made: and we will not take the advice of the Spaniards, our inveterate enemies, who wish to be our trustees by force, and to teach us to believe in God and in the Christian faith. We will not have for councillors or doctors those of Lorraine, who so long have been waiting for our death. The king whom we ask for has been made by nature; he is born in the garden of the lilies of France, a straight and green stalk of the stem of St. Louis. Those who speak of making another are deceived and cannot do it; they can make sceptres and crowns, but no king to bear them; they can build a house, but not a tree, nor a green branch. Nature but produced it in space of time from the juice of the earth. We can make marshals by the dozen, and peers, and admirals, and secretaries, and councillors of state, but not a king."

How strange that the force of historical tradition, so well described here by the *Satire Ménippée*, should be as well felt even now, after 1789, after 1793, after the First Empire, after 1830, after the Second Empire, after the 4th of September! The feelings which are expressed in the quaint language of the *Satire Ménippée* have been kept like those springs which run under low strata and suddenly come to light again. The highest barrier between the Comte de Chambord and the country was the white flag; this barrier is now down, and king and people look at each other with a sort of astonishment, with mixed feelings of pride and shame, of regret and of hope. He would be imprudent who should predict with certainty that the monarchy will be re-established. The two armies are nearly equal in numbers in the Chamber; each party counts the votes which it hopes to secure, and each claims the victory. But on one side we see all the Monarchists united on the same ground, capable of carrying on a government on some fixed constitutional principles; on the other, we have the Conservative Republicans, the Red Republicans, the Communists, and the Bonapartists united only for an hour.

France must choose between a monarchy and a red republic; and in France the red republic is the republic of Gambetta, of Barodet, of Ranc. The marriage of France with the monarchy, if it takes place, will not be a marriage of inclination; it will be a marriage of reason. There is too much blood between the Comte de Chambord and the country; and we are as slow to pardon the wrong we have inflicted ourselves as the wrong which has been inflicted on us. The marriage of France with the Republic will be a marriage of fear. The revolution will take the bride to the altar pale and trembling and downcast. The marriage of inclination would have been the marriage of the sons of Louis Philippe with the Orleanists. Yet who but M. Thiers tried to keep the princes in exile? Who disorganized, even before the fall of the empire, the old Orleanist party? Who tempted the Rémusat, the Dufaure, the Casimir-Périer, and told them that they would find it easier to be his ministers than the ministers of a new king? Who threw the Comte de Paris, abandoned and betrayed by all those whom he had considered as the friends of his father, of his mother, into the arms of his cousin, the Comte de Chambord? If even at this late hour, after M. Thiers has succeeded in forming out of the old Orleanist party the party of the Conservative Republic, the monarchists of the Chamber can balance the republican force, who will say that the monarchists were not in a majority on the day when the Chamber met at Bordeaux? This majority obeyed the will of M. Thiers, and it was only on the 24th of May that it rejected him, when it saw that the Republic was only becoming the screen of the Commune. Now all is undecided; the destinies of the country are in suspense, and nobody can say with any certainty what is to be the future of France.

## Correspondence.

### THE PEACE POLICY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

RESPECTED FRIEND: A question so grave as the right management of the uncivilized Indians of the Southwest should be treated dispassionately. Complicated as it is by all the untoward events which have occurred since General Coronado first met the Indians of the Plains three hundred years ago, and murdered his captives, it specially demands fairness and accuracy. The former requisite can scarcely be said to have been fulfilled in a letter in the last number of the *Nation* by calling the peace policy of the Government, as carried out through the Friends, "a bloody nuisance." The latter, probably unwittingly, has been violated by the assertion that the promise of the release of Satanta and Big Tree was made without authority, by a Quaker agent. These chiefs belong to the Kiowas, not to the Comanches, and the two tribes, though associated, neither intermarry nor have the same tribal organization. Satanta and Big Tree undoubtedly committed great

crimes, for which they were arrested at the request of Agent Tatum, a Friend, to whom they had admitted their guilt. It was no sympathy for them, but the belief that their return to their tribe, after being humbled by imprisonment, and upon the fulfilment of certain conditions by it, would prevent raids into Texas, which induced Superintendent Hoag and others most informed to ask their release. This was promised to the Kiowas, after careful explanation of the terms, by the agent and others, but only by authority from Washington, as official records will show.

The Kiowas fulfilled the conditions at first demanded. They returned all captives to the agent, and also the stolen stock, it is believed, as fully as the chiefs were able to identify it. The chiefs, moreover, organized their people into companies, and thus prevented their bad young men from raiding—in some instances surrounding the camps of those suspected of criminal designs. The Comanches did commit some depredations, and were punished by a military force attacking the camp of one of their parties while off their reservation, killing several men and taking captive a number of women and children. But the Kiowas, having fulfilled the conditions at first imposed, were surprised at new and difficult terms being proposed at the Fort Sill council by Governor Davis; and it was confidence in the Quaker officials which induced them to continue the negotiations.

It scarcely admits of a doubt that it was the influence of the Friends, seconding the efforts of Commissioner Smith, which averted the Indian war hinted at by the correspondent of the *Nation*—a war in which other tribes of the Plains would almost certainly have been involved, and of which the results to whites and Indians would have been terrible indeed. There were thirteen murders by Indians in Texas in 1871, eight in 1872, and five in 1873, the last by Comanches only. It is sad, indeed, that there should be any; but this diminution gives hope for better results in the future. In one county of Kansas, bordering upon the Indian Territory, we are informed, upon what seems reliable evidence, that thirty-one murders were committed by citizens upon each other during the past year, and that not one of the murderers was brought to punishment. It appears, then, that the combined influence of the United States Government and that of the chiefs of the Kiowas and Comanches has done vastly more to prevent crime among them than the government of one of our sovereign States among its own white citizens.

It is impossible that the habits and passions of an uncivilized race, smarting under loss of territory—the wanton destruction of the buffalo, their main support—and the violence and treachery of bad white men reaching through generations to near the present time, should be changed quickly. Much has been accomplished in three years. Confidence in the good faith of the Government, and of some white men, has been restored. All the chiefs, it is believed, now desire to maintain their promises to the Government to the extent of their power. They say truly, "We suffer from Texan horse-thieves." Washington cannot control all his bad men, neither can we all of ours." Some of the chiefs have begun raising cattle. One small band tills the soil. A school is open for their children. Another will soon be opened, for which pupils are promised. One missionary follows the camp of "Kicking Bird" from place to place, and has obtained a strong influence over his band. Two others offer to enter upon the same life of hardship and self-sacrifice, and will probably soon be in the field. To-day the Friends most closely interested and engaged in the management of these Indians have more hope of their ultimate Christian civilization than ever before. The present policy of the United States Government, so far as it is one of peace and justice, and places men with Christian motives in close relation to the Indians, is more in accordance with the laws of God and of human nature than any hitherto pursued. It is just so far certain of final success, if sustained by the patience, sound sense, and Christianity of the nation.—Respectfully,

JAMES E. RHOADS.

PHILADELPHIA, NOV. 2.

### A LETTER FROM MR. GRANT WHITE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: A resolution to submit in becoming silence to the wholesome strictures of the *Nation* is hardly broken by a request to be allowed to say a final word in reply to a letter from one of its correspondents (Dr. Hall), whom you have permitted to refer to an article and to answer a letter, neither of which were published in your columns. Dr. Hall announces his intention of doing something dreadful about my philological pretensions, and of refuting, at his leisure, the censures to which he has exposed himself. As to which I would say that, by my philological ability and acquirement less or more, I have never made any philological "pretensions"—so far from it, that finding my articles in the *Galaxy* described in the proof of a publisher's circular as "philological," I struck the word out, and requested the whole character of the announcement to be changed.



Because I quoted old Ennius about barking *sine dentibus*, he insists upon exposing in bare English all of that which I left under the veil of what he urbanely calls my "cheap Latin"; but I think that our readers, like Morose in *Epicene*, would say to him, "I understood you before: good sir, avoid your impertinency of translation."

If he had done no more than to endeavor to counteract what were in his judgment the "erroneous teachings" in any book or article of mine, I should have learned from him in silence, or have disputed his positions with respect. Criticism we must all submit to; and even unjust censure it is generally prudent to leave unnoticed. Misrepresentation and derogatory personal reflection stand quite in another category. Also, I desire to say now, beforehand, that as this "unpleasantness" between the author of 'Recent Exemplifications' and myself was neither of my seeking nor of my beginning, if it has not been ended by me, it, at least, shall not be by me continued. There are some disputes in which no man of ordinary prudence will care to have the last word, even if he did not have the first. With my review of 'Recent Exemplifications' published, and to be published, this controversy, as far as I am concerned, is closed.

Your obedient servant, R. G. W.

NEW YORK, November 7, 1873.

## Notes.

ROBERT CLARKE & CO., Cincinnati, have in press 'Essays on Educational Reformers,' by Robert Herbert Quick, M.A., Trinity College. —Mr. C. C. Fulton's recent letters from abroad to his paper, the *Baltimore American*, are to be collected in book-form under the title, 'Europe Viewed through American Spectacles,' and published by J. B. Lippincott & Co. The same house announces also 'The Border-land of Science,' by Richard A. Proctor; a 'Dictionary of Sects, Heresies, and Schools of Thought,' by various writers, edited by Rev. John Henry Blunt, already editor of the useful 'Dictionary of Doctrinal and Historical Theology'; a 'History of French Literature,' adapted from the French of Demogot by Christina Bridge; and a new edition of the long-since scarce work of the late Dr. Lieber on 'Civil Liberty and Self-Government,' revised by President Woolsey. —Prof. Bonghi, one of the Italian jurors for public instruction at the Vienna Exposition just closed, has procured permission of the ministers of agriculture and commerce and of public instruction to found at Rome a permanent museum (*museo scolastico*) for the reception of all the instruments of education (*oggetti attinenti all'istruzione*) which may be obtainable of foreign governments, either by exchange or by purchase at a moderate cost. He appears to have undertaken a journey to Vienna with a view to taking advantage of the collections already there. —It is announced in No. 42 of Paul Lindau's *Gegenwart* (Berlin) that hereafter the attempt will be made to add to the present attractions of that very readable paper a brief *résumé* of the most important articles in the periodical press of Europe and the United States; a service like that performed by the *Academy*. —The German Congo Expedition on the coast of Africa has fallen in with a German-American making sketches for *Harper's Weekly*—fresh evidence to the Berlin Geographical Society of the enterprise of the American press. He has acted as artist for the Expedition in their common field of operations. —G. W. Carleton & Co. have in press Robert Dale Owen's autobiography, 'Threading My Way,' a work which offers singular points of contrast to Mr. Mill's autobiography; and they will also publish a brief life of the late Mrs. Partou ('Fanny Fern'), forming, with selections from her best writings, a memorial volume, illustrated by Arthur Lumley. —We have received from B. Westermann & Co. Parts 15 and 16 of Stieler's 'Hand-Atlas.' As already noted, the former contains an oro-hydrographical map of Germany and the adjacent countries, and maps of Russia and Scandinavia. Part 16 gives the first of a series of four plates of France, and the whole of South America in two plates, with enlarged-scale plans of Paris and Rio, and the Bay of Rio.

—On Friday, the 14th instant, Mr. William Page, at the request of Mr. Bryant, Judge Daly, Mr. W. T. Blodgett, Mr. Taylor Johnston, and numerous others of our best-known citizens, will deliver a lecture on what he believes the best and most satisfactory of all the portraits of Shakspeare, and quite authentic. And his descriptions and arguments Mr. Page will illustrate by means of two copies in plaster of a colossal mask upon which he has long been at work, and which is now completed. To many of our readers the story of this beautiful portrait, if portrait it be, is already known. To others it is not, and to these we may briefly indicate its main points. In 1847, a German gentleman, Ludwig Becker, resident we believe in or near Cologne, came into possession of a small painting done in oil, upon parchment, and bearing the date of 1637, which purported to be a picture of the great

English poet, Shakspeare, lying on his death-bed. It had long been in the picture-gallery of a noble family, Von Kesselstadt by name, one of whom had, in 1616, the year of Shakspeare's death, been attached to a German embassy in England. In 1847, the Von Kesselstadt gallery was for some reason broken up, and Mr. Becker acquired the little painting in question. He at once perceived, and so stated to some of his brother antiquarians, that his painting might very probably have been copied from a mask. Enquiry on the spot informed him that persons familiar with the gallery from which the picture came had always seen hanging near it a mask in plaster which professed to be a portrait of Shakspeare, brought from England by the Von Kesselstadt of the embassy above-mentioned. Examining the picture, its new possessor came to the conclusion that it had been ignorantly named "The Deathbed of Shakspeare," and that it clearly was a representation of the poet, laurel-crowned, lying in state after death. The date, 1637, he accounted for by supposing that the returned ambassador or ambassador's attendant, twenty years after procuring a mask of the face of the poet, just dead, had commissioned a clever painter to reproduce for him the scene which he himself, in April, 1616, had witnessed in Stratford Church, and that the painter in doing so had the use of the mask. To find this mask, which local rumor asserted to have but recently been hanging beside the picture, Mr. Becker searched for some time, and was rewarded by discovering it lying disregarded in a small shop, whence he easily rescued it. Photographs of various views of this ill-used and now somewhat battered work Mr. Page procured about four years ago, and being a most enthusiastic student and admirer and personal lover of Shakspeare, whom we may say truly he "knows by heart," he has devoted many months to an attempt to produce the true counterfeit presentment of our great poet. The colossal mask with its solemn beauty is the result, and Mr. Page's business at the lecture which he is invited to give will be to show how, in every detail, his favorite portrait sustains and is sustained by other portrait pictures and the portrait bust at Stratford, and is to be regarded as a veritable portrait, and not only that but also as artistically the best. We are very glad that the subject is to be brought to the attention of the general public.

—As of most of the recent documents of the Bureau of Education, we have to say of Circular of Information No. 4 that the idea is good, but the execution imperfect. This one, however, is confessedly only tentative, and designed to obtain "information" for the Bureau as much as to impart it to the public. The Bureau, it seems, is bent on getting in readiness for the Centennial "a complete and exhaustive catalogue of all the published works, large and small, of the college professors and instructors" of the United States that have appeared during the five years 1868-72—at least we infer this limitation, though the circular is not explicit. The catalogue now given embraces only this period. First we have an alphabetical list of authors; then, classified lists of their works. But the former is unaccompanied by any index, so that one cannot, except by searching every department, ascertain how many works of any given author have been recorded. This imposes a very unnecessary labor on those who are disposed to furnish the corrections and additions requested. The authors themselves have in most cases been applied to, while the Bureau has for its own part searched a number of volumes of proceedings of learned societies, reviews, etc., etc., with here and there a gap in the series which one would think might have been filled with a little waiting. School-books do not appear under "Education" nor by themselves, but are classified by subject-matter, and we do not find Scaring's *Æneid*, Chase's *Horace*, Gray's *School and Field-Book of Botany* (even under "Gray"), Loomis's *Elements of Astronomy* (even under "Loomis"), Johnson's *Analytic Geometry* (1869); Waddell's *Greek Grammar* (1869), nor *Latin* (1871); Comfort's *German Course* (1870), nor *German Reader* (1872), Harkness's *Cæsar*, Spencer's *Greek for Beginners*, Whitney's *German Reader* (even under "Whitney") (1870); nor Swinton's *U. S. School-history*, and *Word-Analysis* (1871). Omissions where the author is mentioned (like the three just noted) also occur under Schele De Vere—*Great Empress* (1839), and *Romance of American History* (1872); A. S. Packard, jr.—*Guide to the Study of Insects* (1869-70); H. B. Hackett—editing of Dr. Smith's *Bible Dictionary* (1870); and J. S. Newberry—*Geological Survey of Ohio* (1872). The following named authors (professors) are entirely omitted: G. F. Barker—*Correlation of Vital and Physical Forces* (1870), *Elementary Chemistry* (1871); A. S. Bickmore—*Travels in the Indian Archipelago* (1869); Hiram Corson—*Anglo-Saxon and Early English* (1871); E. P. Evans—*Abriss der deutschen Literaturgeschichte* (1869); G. P. Fisher—*Supernatural Origin of Christianity*, and *Council of Constance* (1870); Austin Flint, jr.—*Physiology of Man* (1869), *Physical Effects of Muscular Exercise* (1871); G. W. Greene—*Life of Gen. Nath. Greene*, and 3d ed. of *Historical View of Am. Revolution* (1871); W. A. Hammond—*Physiology and Pathology of the Cerebellum* (1869), *Diseases of the Nervous System* (1871); Joel Parker—*First Charter and Early Religious Legislation of*

Massachusetts, and The Three Powers of Government (1869); Theophilus Parsons—Shipping and Admiralty (1869); J. N. Pomeroy—Education in Politics (1869); R. Pumpelly—Across America and Asia (1869); M. C. Tyler—Brawnville Papers (1869). All which we offer, errors excepted, as our contribution towards the more perfect list.

—The list of names in the International Juristical Conference, held at Brussels October 10, shows that the attendance, though not numerous, was of a character to give weight to its conclusions, and was fairly representative of the leading nations of Christendom. The Conference was organized by the choice of the following officers: Mr. D. D. Field, Hon. President; M. A. Viasschers, President; Messrs. Bluntschli, Montague Bernard, Giraud, and Mancini, Vice-Presidents; and Messrs. De Laveleye, Jencken, and Miles, Secretaries. When the Conference resolved itself into a permanent Association, these gentlemen were constituted the Bureau for the ensuing year, to report to a meeting at Geneva in August next. The deputies of each country were empowered to add to the membership of the Association from their several nations, subject to the approval of the Bureau. The style of the body is the Association for the Promotion of International Law. At first there were some signs of friction between this body and the "Institut de droit international," lately constituted at Ghent; but as many gentlemen of the Conference were members of both bodies, the apparent rivalry was obliterated by an agreement to the effect that the Institute should devote itself to purely scientific treatises, while the Association should solicit such treatises from the Institute and other sources as the basis of its appeals to governments, to parliaments, and to public opinion. The Association was unanimous in the result that the codification of international law, defining with as much precision as possible the rights and duties of nations and of their members, is desirable for the peace, the harmony, and the convenience of nations; and in this view, a committee was appointed to prepare a *projet* of the different parts of such a code, to be submitted to a future meeting. It was subsequently recommended that this committee should commence its work with the private rights affected by international treaties and conventions. The interest of the Conference centred in the question of arbitration, the discussion of which occupied nearly two days. At one time, it seemed likely that the body would dissolve without reaching any conclusion; but, by patience and good-will, a result harmonizing the views represented by Messrs. Bernard, Bluntschli, Mancini, Passy, and Richard was reached, and a resolution passed declaring arbitration "just and reasonable," and even "obligatory on all nations," and that though this mode of solution is not always applicable, it is applicable in most cases; and that no difference ought to be considered insoluble until all pacific modes of adjustment have been exhausted. What was meant by "obligatory" here did not clearly appear, and yet it was the most important term in the resolution. Mr. Montague Bernard writes to the *London Times*, apparently wishing to guard himself against responsibility for the proceedings, declaring that he did not consider the codification of international law possible, and that the resolutions passed were not of "great practical importance," but that he thinks that great good must come, and in this we cordially agree with him, from the discussion of this class of questions by English and American and Continental lawyers, as their mode of approaching judicial subjects differs to a degree which causes real inconvenience when an attempt is made at arbitration.

—The feudal right of disembowelling serfs has, we believe, at last been traced to its source. Rougebief, cited by a correspondent as an authority (*Nation*, No. 425), evidently obtained his knowledge of the lawsuit which was said to have brought out the facts, either from A. Barginet ('*Histoire du gouvernement féodal*,' Paris, 1825), or directly from the '*Cri de la raison*' of the curate Clerget, relied upon by Barginet and by Dulaure in his '*Historical Sketches of the Principal Events of the French Revolution*.' According to these narrators the suit was brought in the *parlement* of Besançon (no date), before a magistrate (anonymous), and the Count de — produced an act in which the inhabitants of — agreed to assume certain charges for sixty years on condition that meantime the seigneur should renounce his right to make them accompany him on the hunt, and in winter to disembowel them in order to warm his feet in their entrails. On the famous night of the 4th of August, 1789, Lapoule, a deputy of the third estate for the bailiwick of Besançon, made in the Assembly a speech so extravagant that it was interrupted, and was not inserted in the *Moniteur*. Villiamé, in his '*History of the Revolution*,' states that the interruption was caused by a cry of indignation, due to the mention of the seignorial right in question. We suppose it is doubtful (other historians being silent) whether this was really the subject of Lapoule's remarks, and whether Clerget is not the only authority for the story, which has been caught up and repeated by a host of modern historians, including Cesare Cantù in his '*Universal History*.' At all events, the evidence proves to be fatally defective. In the September *Polybiblion*, from which we

derive these facts and references, a contributor, writing on the same subject, states that in the Gallic laws collected by Hoël, at the beginning of the 10th century, there figures among the officers attached to the person of the prince or *brenin* of the canton a *Troydyane* (*pedifer*), whose functions were to hold in his lap the feet of the *brenin* from the time of his sitting down at table till bed-time (or nap-time), to rub his legs, and keep him from harm. He was a free man, eating out of the same plate with the *brenin*, and holding a fief. It is suggested that this custom may have been imitated by less powerful seigneurs, on their return from the chase, and that the vague reminiscence of it has given rise to the barbarous tradition first recorded by the curate Clerget.

#### LESSONS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.\*

##### II.

LORD ORMATHWAITE thus writes of the Revolutionary leaders: "They succeeded more completely than any revolutionists had ever done in uprooting every principle, every institution, every belief, every tradition, political, moral, and religious, which had ever been received by nations or exercised influence over mankind." This statement will be accepted without criticism by men who disagree in their whole view of the Revolution, by writers who admire Robespierre no less than by authors who, like his lordship, adore the Bonapartes. It contains exactly the amount of truth sufficient to make it pass current; for it is undoubtedly true that the Revolutionists, or rather some of them (for it is childish to lump up together in one class, after the manner of Lord Ormathwaite, men so different as Mirabeau, Lafayette, and Robespierre), did attempt to change the institutions and sentiments of mankind, and believed themselves to have succeeded in their endeavor. The new calendar, the worship of reason, and all the fantastic performances of Revolutionary legislation, would become as unmeaning as they were childish, did we not know that to the minds of their authors they appeared to be the appropriate outward signs of the foundation of a new state of society, resting on new principles and sentiments. Yet the assertion we have quoted is at bottom one of those delusive platitudes which, accepted alike by Tories and Jacobins, contain more falsehood than truth, obscure the nature of the Revolution, and hide the causes of its failure. As a matter of fact, the Revolution did not uproot the beliefs, traditions, or principles which had long prevailed in France. Many institutions were destroyed; many more were in fact left standing, but were called by new names. A critic who surveys the result of the movement as regards France will be more struck, the more deeply he examines, with its curious superficiality. In one instance after another the spirit of the *ancien régime* has survived where its forms have been altered. It was the policy of the monarchy, for example, to promote centralization and to weaken the nobility. No one now doubts that the Revolution gave still greater force to exactly the same tendencies. Look, again, at the startling difference of sentiment which seems to set an almost impassable division between the towns of France, which are, roughly speaking, republican, and the country districts, which are conservative, if not monarchical, in sentiment. The distinction is one which certainly dates back to a time prior to 1789, and its existence proves that the Revolutionists did not succeed in imbuing the country with liberal principles.

Look, again, at the influence of the Catholic priesthood. The Revolutionary leaders differed greatly in their political views, but they all agreed in their desire to spread enlightenment, and in their belief that the Revolution had struck a fatal blow at the rule of superstition. In fact, it is in the domain of religion that their failure has been most conspicuous. The Roman Catholic Church exerts at this moment greater influence in France than it has exerted at any time during the last century. It has, in fact, revived in such power that it possibly may be able to restore for a time at least the rule of the Bourbons. We do not for a moment wish to exaggerate the extent and permanent power of the present clerical and conservative reaction. The general revolutionary movement of which France once took the lead has not, as we before pointed out, been defeated either by nobles or by priests. Any calm observer who surveys the whole condition of Europe will see that her hierarchical power has lost far more than it has gained in the long conflict between it and liberalism which has now gone on with varying success for more than a century. What we do maintain is that in France itself the Revolutionists did not root up the religious tradition of the country. Two facts are in this point of view most instructive. Divorce is still unknown to the law of France, and has never been legalized except for a limited period during the first Revolution, and, unless we are mistaken, during the First Empire. The marriage of a Roman Catholic priest is still in all probability illegal. The Code preserves on this point an ambiguous silence. No one dares confi-

\* 'Lessons of the French Revolution—1789-1872. By Lord H. Ormathwaite.' London: Richard Bentley & Son.



dently assert such a marriage to be valid, and the best French lawyers are apparently of opinion that the rule of the Church of Rome is still in this respect the law of France. In spite of outward revolutions, the spirit of the French people is still controlled by Roman Catholic sentiment and tradition. If any one objects that the French leaders, if they did not totally break with the past, yet achieved as fundamental a revolution as ever can be carried out by the efforts of one generation, he should in fairness compare what we have termed the superficiality of the Revolution with the thoroughgoing effectiveness of the Reformation. In no country did the Reformers apparently effect such slight alterations as in England. The movement of the sixteenth century left the Church of England so little changed as regards names, forms, and even doctrines, that antiquarian pedantry has of recent years maintained the paradox, that the Church of England was never in effect reformed at all, and remained after as before the Reformation the same body in its essential features which it was in the time of Thomas of Canterbury. This paradox can, however, never deceive any student who looks rather to things than to names. The Church is at bottom a Protestant body. The breach with Rome and the marriage of the clergy effected an essential change which no antiquarian of ecclesiastical subtlety can explain away. The Reformers went to the root of the matter. They changed the spirit of the nation, and could afford to neglect forms when they had secured the substance. The French Revolutionists again and again have sacrificed the substance in their anxiety about words and formulas. Whatever be the cause, they have not uprooted some of the most important of the traditions, principles, and beliefs which were handed down to them by the *ancien régime*.

The recognition of the Revolutionary failure does not of itself explain the cause of this failure. The question still remains, why did the efforts of the Revolutionists effect so little for the freedom of France? Lord Ormathwaite and the authorities he follows attribute the errors and failure of the Revolution to the false political and social principles impressed on the Revolutionists by the philosophers of the eighteenth century. This explanation contains, no doubt, an element of truth, but cannot, we should think, give satisfaction to any unprejudiced reader. The theories of Voltaire and Rousseau are, in the first place, by no means absolutely false. In many respects they have modified, and beneficially modified, the whole condition of the civilized world. Moreover, no statesmen whom the world has seen have ever held absolutely true speculative beliefs. Yet, in fact, unsound theory has not always led to mistaken practice. The founders of the American Union, for example, held most of the political dogmas which were entertained by their French imitators, yet they founded a constitution which, though not free from defects, has lasted for nearly a century, and has been found adapted to the wants of the country, whilst no French statesman has been able to erect a constitution which should last as long as twenty-five years. Passages, again, might be quoted from Blackstone which come very near the doctrine of an original contract, and certainly countenance that notion of natural rights, or even of popular sovereignty, to which English writers are fond of tracing the errors of the Revolution. Add to this, that the speculative views of writers like Lord Ormathwaite are themselves by no means above criticism. His favorite theory of the balance in the constitution of monarchical, aristocratic, and democratic elements, would find no more favor in the eyes of a critic such as Bentham than would the pretentious dogmas embodied in the declaration of the rights of man. If erroneous speculative beliefs were in themselves inconsistent with sound statesmanship, it is difficult to see why England and America should not have fallen into calamities as great as those which have marked the course of French politics.

The truth appears to be, that the failure of the French Revolutionists to secure the freedom of France—a failure which the most judicious French writers, such as De Tocqueville and Quinet, frankly admit—is due to causes which both English conservatives, who see in the Revolution nothing but evil, and French republicans, who would fain see in it nothing but good, equally overlook. The task which in 1789 the French people were called upon to perform was one which the circumstances of the case made all but impossible of performance. The men into whose hands the guidance of the country fell were unequal to their work, and the country itself was perhaps of all the countries in Europe the one least capable of carrying out with success the changes which the times required.

The task was all but impossible of performance. The work before the States-General in 1789 was not the foundation of the republic, but the modification of the monarchy so as to make it compatible with the sovereignty of the nation. Englishmen talk as if this were an easy matter. "The original constitution of the States-General properly worked," writes Lord Ormathwaite, "or the adoption of our own system of two independent chambers, would gradually have swept away abuses, and assimilated her condition to ours. France had all the materials previous to the meeting of the States-General for entering on a course, if not precisely identical, yet not dissimilar

from our own." So says Lord Ormathwaite, and so Burke and others have said in effect before him, but no allegation can be more unfounded. France never had possessed before 1789 any real constitution; France did not possess that powerful aristocracy which has at bottom been, under monarchical forms, the support of the aristocratic constitution of England. Moreover, England herself did not establish the sovereignty of the nation, which is the essential feature of popular government, until after nearly a century of revolution. It is very characteristic of Burke and of the school of writers who, with none of his genius, repeat the most doubtful part of his doctrines, to dwell exclusively on the English Revolution, and to forget the great rebellion which, after all, made the Revolution possible. Moreover, English history, if it is to be appealed to at all, teaches that you cannot establish a constitutional government under a monarch who has been used to absolute power. Modern experience repeats the same lesson. For the success of a revolution, it is necessary that the government that it founds should sympathize with it. You may effect this by a change of dynasty, you also may effect it, as in modern Italy, by making the power of the dynasty depend on the maintenance of the new constitution. But it still remains to be proved that you can found a popular government, and yet leave at its head the man whose powers have been taken by the people. No one can believe that American independence could have been secured had the founders of the Republic felt themselves bound to leave George III. nominally at its head. Yet the difficulty of an American commonwealth with the English king for president was not as great as that of forming a constitution for France of which Louis XVI. should be the nominal head. We have in our own days seen a similar difficulty lead to a less bloody but not more decisive catastrophe. In 1846, both Italy and the Pope believed that Pius IX. might guide the country to freedom and independence. The Italian Revolution of 1848 was mainly rendered abortive by the delusion that the modern Papacy was reconcilable with modern ideas of liberty and national unity.

The men of the Revolution were unequal to their task. They have passed as giants because of the greatness of the crisis with which they dealt. It would be unjust to call them dwarfs, but they certainly were for the most part persons both morally and intellectually of average stature. On this point it is necessary carefully to eschew the mass of legend with which the zeal of followers as well as the hatred of opponents has surrounded the Revolutionary heroes. Statesmen must be judged of by their foresight, and by their judicious use of means. According to either criterion, the greater number of the men of the Revolution must be pronounced politicians of not more than ordinary ability. Their want of foresight is conspicuous. Even the men who were ultimately the most ardent republicans hardly foresaw the approach of the republic. Not one of them seems to have perceived the great inconvenience incurred by bringing back the king from Varennes, or even to have suspected that could Louis have been suffered to cross the frontier he might have saved not only himself but the country from ruin. Even the most remarkable of their body do not seem either to have realized the difficulty of dealing with the Catholic priesthood, or to have imagined a consistent policy by which to regulate the relations of the state and the church. They could neither conceive of disestablishment combined with absolute and impartial toleration, nor of the substitution of one form of national religion for another. The policy they actually adopted was one which ensured all the evils without giving any of the advantages of persecution. For their use of means was on the whole as injudicious as their views were short-sighted. Spectators who saw the horrors of the Reign of Terror were mainly struck with the reckless inhumanity of the Revolutionists. Later critics wonder rather at their political incapacity. When the Shah of Persia heard that M. Thiers was driven from power, he is said to have asked, "Why have they not cut off his head?" The story, true or not, exactly represents a barbarian's idea of the right way of dealing with a political opponent. The notion of the Shah was exactly that of the Revolutionists. Neither they nor he could understand all the evil results to their own cause produced by reckless violence against political enemies. Neither they nor he could enter into the spirit of the words which Cavour is reported, truly or not, to have muttered on his death-bed, "I will have no state of siege; any one can govern with a state of siege." The mode of government which Cavour rejected was exactly that which in spirit the heroes of the Revolution adopted, and which has been the favorite recourse of every French government since their time. It has been well observed that the cruelty of the Terrorists can be at least accounted for by the inhumanity of the old French criminal law. The remark is both true in itself and admits of very wide application. The policy of the Revolutionary government might fairly be explained as the application on behalf of the Revolution of the method of government which had been invented by the monarchy. The French Revolutionists, in other words, inherited the arbitrary character of the government they had overthrown. When the Jacobins chose to consider the mob of Paris as armed with the

authority of the country, they practically carried out exactly the same idea which made Louis XIV. identify himself with the state. They could not root up the sentiments and traditions of the monarchy, because they themselves, and to a great extent the country also, were imbued with these sentiments and traditions.

For, despite of the mixed pity and admiration which the history of modern France must excite in those who study it, it must be candidly admitted that the defects of the French themselves were almost incompatible with the success of the Revolutionary experiment. It is possible for us to see many things which were inevitably concealed from the generation who witnessed the meeting of the National Assembly. It is, for example, perfectly clear that the state of the French peasantry and of the country districts made it almost impossible to carry out at once a thoroughgoing reform. It is equally clear that the Roman Catholic Church could not adopt the principles of modern liberalism even in their most moderate form, and that the Catholic Church exerted an amount of permanent influence in France beyond that for which either friends or foes gave it credit. It is again certain that a despotic government of centuries had by degrees rendered the mass of the people almost incapable of performing their part under the rule of freedom. For the people themselves, it must in fairness be said that they were at the commencement of the Revolution ready enough to trust educated guides, and it should carefully be noted that even to the very end of the movement of 1789, the leading Revolutionists were men who in position and education stood far above the populace; and if either the king could have made himself the leader of the Revolution, or any one statesman could have come to the head and made himself, as it were, the representative of the people, the French nation might have been guided to liberty by a king or a minister, as the Italians have let themselves be guided to independence under the guidance at one time of Mazzini, at another of Cavour. That this was not their good fortune arises partly from circumstances which can only be summed up under the very vague designation of chance. But it arises also from what no good-will towards France can conceal from any honest observer. For the last eighty years France has again and again suffered from the incapacity of the majority of moderate and sensible men to impose their will on violent partisans. The nation has constantly been made the sport of a faction. It is perplexing to see what is the source of this incapacity in a nation as rich in talent as any country in the world. To explain it entirely one would need to trace the whole course of French history. Two partial explanations deserve consideration. The first consists in the effect produced by years of revolution. The mass of every nation is, it may be suspected, cowardly and apathetic. It soon learns, after one or two revolutions, to stand by and let violent men fight out their contest for power without its interposition. In 1745, the mass of Englishmen stood quietly by whilst a body of five or six thousand Highlanders marched from Scotland to the middle of England to overthrow the government, and then marched quietly back unmolested. The second is to be found in the history of French Protestantism. All the qualities which we miss in modern Frenchmen were found in the French Huguenots. The destruction of Protestantism was in some sense the destruction of the nation. The Massacre of St. Bartholomew and the Edict of Nantes explain both the outbreak and the failure of the Revolution.

#### CLARKE'S SEX IN EDUCATION.\*

IT is an unquestionable fact that the health of American women has on the average distinctly deteriorated during the past forty years. The delicate beauty of American girls quickly fades; the diseases peculiar to women are commoner than they used to be, and women of the educated classes are less able than formerly to bear and nurse children. The medical profession testifies with singular unanimity to this sad truth, common observation corroborates their testimony, and the census adds its statistics to complete the unwelcome demonstration. Moreover, the sterilizing influences, whatever they are, undoubtedly affect the refined classes more strongly than the ignorant and rude. The women who are morally and mentally best fitted to perpetuate and improve the race are precisely those who are physically least likely to do so. It is imperative that the American community should be awakened to the gravity of this danger, and be instructed in the means of avoiding it.

Dr. Clarke's book is a strong presentation of one of the chief causes of the evil. A rigorous climate, an unwholesome diet, foolish clothing, indoor life, and the unreasonable excitements of society, all contribute to the disastrous result; but Dr. Clarke, while recognizing the influence of all these causes, purposely confines himself to a discussion of a cause of weakness and suffering in women which is more universal, fundamental, and potent than any

other. This cause is the prevalent neglect during girlhood, both at home and at school, or at work, of the most delicate and characteristic part of woman's organization.

Dr. Clarke's argument may be abridged somewhat as follows, though not without doing it injustice: The periodical movements which characterize woman's structure for more than half her life are fountains of power, not hindrances or signs of inferiority; no woman can be symmetrically and completely developed in any part of her organization—body, mind, or soul—in whom these most essential and characteristic parts of her structure have been stifled or aborted by neglect. To ensure the healthy development of the wonderfully intricate reproductive system in the woman, it is essential that the girl should always have a remission and sometimes an intermission of labor, study, exercise, and excitement during a part of every fourth week, from about the fourteenth to about the nineteenth year of her life. The amount of the remission, or the length of the intermission, varies with different individuals; but comparative rest, or diminished activity, is a physiological necessity for all girls, however robust they may seem to be. Activity of brain at the period which should be given to rest and repair is quite as dangerous as activity of body. Disproportionate brain-activity exerts a sterilizing influence upon both sexes, but this influence is more potent upon the female than upon the male. The penalties for violating these physiological laws are terribly severe. Headache, neuralgia, hysteria, and a monthly torture which makes life miserable are among the commoner forms of punishment. Barrenness is the extreme penalty. When the evil does not go so far as this, it is, nevertheless, dreadful enough. The influence of her reproductive system upon the character of woman is strong and deep. When one member suffers, all the other members suffer with it. "A woman, whether married or unmarried, whether called to the offices of maternity or relieved from them, who has been defrauded by her education or otherwise of such an essential part of her development, is not so much of a woman intellectually and morally, as well as physically, in consequence of this defect" (p. 91).

Having explained the physiological principles and rules which are involved in this discussion, Dr. Clarke proceeds to illustrate them by actual cases of a typical sort which have occurred in his own practice. The record of these cases is sad reading, but no one can fail to recognize the truthfulness of the descriptions, and almost every one will be able to match them within the range of his own observation. They are so lifelike, or, rather, death-like, that they will convince anybody whose mind is open that there is great danger in stimulating girls and young women to unremitted mental or bodily activity, and keeping them constantly in a state of intellectual and emotional tension during the period of sexual development. This period coincides with the ordinary period of school life for an American girl, and hence all the methods and processes of schools for girls should be devised with express reference to the periodicity of the female organization.

Instead of this requisite adaptation to the needs of girlhood, Dr. Clarke finds that our methods of educating girls do not give the female organization a fair chance, but, on the contrary, that they check development and invite weakness. The schools for girls have been modelled after schools for boys, and have imposed upon their pupils a boy's regimen, apparently upon the theory that a girl, like a boy, develops health and strength, blood and nerve, intellect and life, by a regular, uninterrupted, and sustained course of work. It is against this fatal theory that Dr. Clarke protests with all the weight of his learning and his experience. He maintains (p. 126) that "girls lose health, strength, blood, and nerve by a regimen that ignores the periodical tides and reproductive apparatus of their organization." Here is the fundamental reason for separating boys and girls in educating them, as soon as the age of puberty is reached. The methods which are safe and judicious for one sex are unsafe for the other. The stimulus which is harmless and even essential for boys is altogether unnecessary and harmful for girls. What Dr. Clarke thinks of identical coeducation for the two sexes may be inferred from the following forcible passages (pp. 135-136):

"Put a boy and girl together upon the same course of study, with the same lofty ideal before them, and hold up to their eyes the daily incitements of comparative progress, and there will be awakened within them a stimulus unknown before, and that separate study does not excite. . . . The first sex to suffer in this exhilarating and costly competition must be, as experience shows it is, the one that has the largest amount of force in readiness for immediate call; and this is the female sex. At the age of development, nature mobilizes the forces of a girl's organization for the purpose of establishing a function that shall endure for a generation, and for constructing an apparatus that shall cradle and nurse a race. These mobilized forces, which, at the technical educational period, the girl possesses and controls largely in excess of the boy, under the passionate stimulus of identical coeducation are turned from their divinely-appointed field of operations to the region of brain-activity. The result is a most brilliant show of cerebral pyrotechnics, and the degenerations that we have described."

Dr. Clarke's book should be carefully studied by every teacher of girls,

\* "Sex in Education; or, A Fair Chance for the Girls. By Edward H. Clarke, M.D." Boston: James R. Osgood & Company. 1873.



and by every trustee or committee-man who has a voice in the management of a girls' school; but it will not do all the good it is capable of doing unless it is also widely read by American mothers. The physiological laws which Dr. Clarke has expounded are, to be sure, constantly violated in the schools and colleges to which girls resort; but they are also violated quite as dangerously in the homes from which the girls come, and as often in mere pleasure-seeking as in study or other serious labor. American mothers seem too often not to exercise a due control over their daughters at the catamenial period. They sin in this way, sometimes from dense ignorance, sometimes from a reckless inclination to grant their daughters present pleasure, at whatever risk of future pain, and sometimes from an entire lack of effective control over their children. Near the end of Dr. Clarke's treatise is an admirable letter from a German lady about the course which German mothers adopt with their daughters at the catamenial period. It is so compendious and practical a bit of advice that we quote the principal passages (p. 175):

"As soon as a girl attains maturity in this respect, which is seldom before the age of sixteen, she is ordered to observe complete rest; not only rest of body, but rest of mind. Many mothers oblige their daughters to remain in bed for three days, if they are at all delicate in health; but even those who are physically very strong are obliged to abstain from study, to remain in their rooms for three days, and keep perfectly quiet. During the whole of each period they are not allowed to run, walk much, ride, skate, or dance. In fact, entire repose is strictly enforced in every well-regulated household and school. A German girl would consider the idea of going to a party at such times as simply preposterous; and the difference that exists in this respect in America is wholly unintelligible to them. As a general rule, a married woman in Germany, even after she has had many children, is as strong and healthy, if not more so, than when she was a girl. In America, with a few exceptions, it appears to be the reverse; and I have no doubt it is owing to the want of care on the part of girls at this particular time, and to the neglect of their mothers to enforce proper rules in this most important matter."

Some of the people who are already professionally committed as journalists, teachers, or philanthropists to dangerous experiments in female education, experiments costly in life and health if not in money, will doubtless attempt to prevent the circulation of Dr. Clarke's book by denouncing it as indecent or coarse. Those who know Dr. Clarke's character and standing will not need any denial of such a charge; but for the benefit of those who have never before heard of Dr. Clarke, it is proper to say that the book is simply plain-spoken. There are a few jocose remarks in it which are unpleasant in connection with so grave a subject, and the author's aversion to masculine women has betrayed him into the use of a few repulsive, and perhaps unfeeling phrases; but these are trifling blemishes in comparison with the great merits of frankness, clearness, and earnest sincerity. The subject has long needed some plain-speaking by a competent authority. Dr. Clarke is emphatically a trustworthy authority. He was for many years a professor in the Medical School of Harvard University, and is now, by the choice of the alumni, one of the overseers of the university. The fact that he is a general practitioner and not a specialist only adds to the weight of his opinions. A specialist easily comes to think that the whole world is afflicted with the diseases which he treats. No member of the medical profession in Boston stands higher than Dr. Clarke in public estimation, whether as regards scientific attainments, professional skill, or practical sagacity. To question his authority is as useless as to decry his character. Moreover all the eminent physiologists of the world are on his side.

The terrible evil to the cure of which Dr. Clarke hopes to contribute through the teachings of this book presses nearly as heavily upon men as upon women; for in the first place all males as well as all females must be born of woman, and inherit in one form or another the weakness of the mother, and in the next place the happiness and welfare of most men are bound up with the health and happiness of their wives and children. It is a great consolation and encouragement to believe with Dr. Clarke and many other physiologists that the evil, when once apprehended and vigorously combated on true physiological principles, is curable in two or three generations, and the publication of this treatise is in itself an indication that the process of improvement has already begun.

It is so desirable that this treatise should be widely read, by the poorer classes as well as the luxurious, that we regret very much the unnecessarily costly form in which it is published. The matter could have been well printed and sold with a large profit for fifty cents; yet by using thick paper and a narrow page of only twenty-four lines, Messrs. James R. Osgood & Co. have made it up into a book for which it does not seem wholly preposterous to ask a dollar and a quarter. We hope that a cheap edition will be published at once.

*The Perfect Horse.* By Rev. W. H. H. Murray. (Boston: J. R. Osgood & Co.)—Mr. Murray has given us a volume on a subject which

might be supposed to be somewhat out of the line of a minister of the Gospel, and which, like his former work on the Adirondacks, will be apt to mislead those who go to it for information, though perhaps in a less degree. Its title would more properly indicate the aim of the author if the word "trotting" were inserted after "perfect," as it is in this particular branch of the horse business that Mr. Murray finds his specialty and his sphere as an instructor. He starts off by proposing to point out the marks which characterize the perfect or ideal horse, and to do it in so plain a manner that hereafter any one who knows his rules, and observes them, can, even at a casual glance, recognize the merits and failings of the animal he contemplates purchasing, and fix certainly and immediately the value, set the wiles and arts of horse jockeys and copers at naught, and acquire in an hour a knowledge the want of which has, we dare say, cost much money and bitter reflection to many of Mr. Murray's lambs, if they share the tastes of their pastor. After a few pages of instruction on the different kinds of temperament in horses, Mr. Murray gets at the real substance of his work in treating of the form, disposition, etc., to be selected in breeding horses for trotting purposes. His argument can scarcely be termed inductive, as he has taken as his ideal the Morgan family of horses, with which his earthly fortunes are linked, and makes strength in the characteristics of that family the test of perfection. Mr. Murray is careful to state in his preface that he does not mean to advertise any particular strains of blood in his book, and we can only suppose that the ownership of two stallions of the Morgan stock has unconsciously led him to devote so large a portion of his space to panegyrics on this New England family of trotting-horses and defamation of their rivals.

The Morgans—in which sweeping appellation Mr. Murray includes nearly all the New England families of trotters, descended from a horse called Justin Morgan, which died early in the present century—are generally small, though full of nervous energy and vigor, and, while they have distinguished themselves on the turf, are not to be compared in the particulars of speed or endurance in trotting with the descendants of Messenger, a thoroughbred race-horse of great repute which was imported here from England, and did service in the stud at the same time as did Justin Morgan, the ancestor of Mr. Murray's two stallions. Our best trotters and many of our best race-horses are descendants of Messenger, and his immediate and remote issue are noted, as he himself was, for great hardiness of constitution and invincible determination. Mr. Murray, on p. 300, gives us a compilation of forty-nine of the descendants of Justin Morgan that have trotted a mile in 2:36 and faster, by the record, and immediately afterwards states that "the family of horses which has been distinguished by and embodied the four great essentials of the perfect horse—beauty, docility, endurance, and speed—is the Morgan." We will look a little into the question of speed, on which Mr. Murray lays the greatest stress. In the list of trotters above-mentioned, which contains errors of omission and commission, the most glaring blunder is in giving Ethan Allen's time as 2:15. That he trotted in this time is true, but it was in an unusual manner, he being harnessed with a running mate, which not only pulled all the load, but Ethan Allen as well. Under these circumstances the horse was very much like a boy running behind a wagon of which he has hold, and by the help of which he can run much faster than he could alone. The fastest Ethan Allen has ever been able to go, drawing a sulky, is about 2:25, and his 2:15 is not admitted as a trotting record. The next fastest time on the list is by Rolla Goldust—2:21—and was made under the saddle, a much faster way of going than in harness, though this fact is suppressed. The fastest time of this horse, drawing a sulky, is about the same as Ethan Allen's. Of the remainder of the forty-nine horses named, ten of them have the blood of Messenger in their veins, and the best of them have more of that than of the blood of Justin Morgan. On the other hand, not going back so far as imported Messenger, we find at least ten of his descendants through Hambletonian, a horse now living, that have trotted faster in single harness than any in Mr. Murray's list, and none of these have, so far as known, a drop of the Morgan blood. Moreover, of all the horses which have ever trotted below 2:20 (and a horse must do that to be considered first-rate now), one half are of Hambletonian descent and none of Morgan.

On p. 338, we find that Hambletonian's best sons (for breeding purposes) "are out of 'Star' mares, or thoroughbreds of other families." Now Mr. Murray evidently considered American Star, the sire of the "Star" mares, a thoroughbred, as he gives his pedigree several times as by Henry, which is a mistake. But it is a well-known fact among breeders that no son of Hambletonian from a Star or thoroughbred mare has yet distinguished himself in the stud. Perhaps the most remarkable crotchet ventilated in the book is on pp. 127 and 128, where Mr. Murray proposes, and gives many reasons for doing so, to broaden the present definition of "thoroughbred," by making it include any animal that is handsome according to his ideas of equine beauty and is possessed of "power of endurance and desire to do." To appreciate

the extreme coolness of this proposition, we must remember that an animal to be "thoroughbred" must trace back on both sides to five generations at least of pure blood, and that the term was originally used in England for horses of the highest lineage, brought there from the East, which became the ancestors of their and our families of thoroughbreds. Mr. Murray might as well profess to be a member of the French Academy because he is a literary man, or of the Royal family of England because he is as athletic as some of its members.

The instructions about breaking colts are good, and those on the foot and shoeing show that the author has adopted the best and most sensible views. The remarks on the structural formation of the horse are also worthy of careful study by those interested in the subject. Mr. Beecher's introduction and Mr. Loring's supplement, which is quite long, are both good and amusing. The book closes with tabulated pedigrees of twenty-nine noted horses, among which we notice seven given incorrectly; instructions for laying out a mile track; and a "gallery of celebrated horses," in which Mr. Murray's two stallions figure of course.

*The Atmosphere.* Translated from the French of Camille Flammarion. Edited by J. Glaisher, F.R.S. With ten chromo-lithographs and eighty wood-cuts. (New York: Harpers. 1873. 453 pp. 8vo.)—Both of these gentlemen are eminent aeronauts, Mr. Glaisher having ascended to an elevation of thirty-seven thousand feet—the highest on record. The chromo-lithographs are the most praiseworthy feature of the book, one of them, representing a sunrise on Mount Rigi, being more pleasing than most landscape paintings. But in the titles of the woodcuts the author's contempt for accuracy appears. Thus, one view is named "Ice at the North Pole," teaching that that place has been seen. But M. Flammarion sacrifices truth about all other subjects for the sake of brilliancy in emphasizing his point at the moment. A specimen occurs on p. 18: "Situated as we are about the globe, infinitely small mollusks!" The author's style is pompous, vague, and unballasted. The editor in his preface makes confessions not calculated to encourage intending purchasers: "It is impossible for any one man to have a complete knowledge of so great a variety of subjects as are treated of by M. Flammarion, and the compiler of such a book must include many things taken from others, of the accuracy of which he is not fully competent to judge." "Every one who is acquainted with French popular works on science is aware that very many exhibit a tendency to imaginative . . . writing, which ill accords with the precision and accuracy that ought to be a characteristic of scientific information." The editor should, perhaps, rather have styled such writing fanciful than imaginative, for it is the author's gravest defect that he is destitute of scientific imagination; otherwise he would not have endorsed as "probable" several whimsical notions such as that "a detached train of the lighter gases remains constantly in the rear of the globe during its rapid revolution around the sun." His lack of imagination is impartial; it rejects as blindly as it admits, so that the hypothetical portions of the work are simply worthless.

The arrangement, as usual in compilations, is merely topical; the choice of subjects is adapted to attract; a flash of lightning is gilded upon the binding.

## Fine Arts.

### THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM.

#### THE LOAN COLLECTION.—I. EUROPEAN CERAMICS.

THE complete property of the Museum is now assembled in Fourteenth Street, together with an interesting and generous loan collection. The possessions of the Museum include the pictures by the old masters, bought a year and a half ago, and described by us at the time, and the Di Cesnola antiquities, also passed in review before our readers. Both of these collections are now improved—the gallery with two or three additional pictures of value, and the Cyprus statuary by the careful and methodical arrangement of the discoverer himself. The loan collection, considerably reinforced during the summer interval, is now the prominent novelty. It includes old and new paintings, statuary, and several rooms full of virtu. The latter, not yet catalogued, is decidedly rich and choice; and as one's ideal of a loan collection begins, if it does not end, with *bric-à-brac*, we will pass by the artistic sublimities to commence frankly at the chinaware.

Potteries from Asia and potteries from Europe are piled in a number of cases upstairs and downstairs. Their classification is done in the visitor's head. The materials for a tolerably full lesson in European ceramics may be gathered by piecing together the specimens from the different cases; these, being arranged according to owners, instead of by any scientific sys-

tem, afford a wholesome exercise to the mind, and shrewdly tax the memory of the eye.

The fine memorial case furnished from the collection of the late Mrs. Prime shows European porcelain at its beginning, in the ware of Böttcher; this, with its warm white hue and exceptional heaviness, may have come to us from the artist's luxurious prison in the castle of Meissen, where he was tied to his craft in petted slavery by August the Strong. To pass from this ware to the specimens of Italian majolica—and it is singularly easy to bestride international boundaries in the collection—is to find a harsher material and a superior art. It is curious to think what new perfections might have been reached, by painters like those of the so-called "Raphael ware," and statuary like Della Robbia, if they could have found a material so obedient, so beautiful in itself, and so flexible in expressing the artist's most delicate shade of meaning, as the kaolin of Dresden. A contribution of Gubbio ware, from the estate of Mrs. Prime, instances the florid development of ceramic industry in the Duchy of Urbino, where Maestro Giorgio brought up his lead glazes to their most admirable mother-of-pearl lustre. Doccia ware, with its purity and intensity of tin glaze and elevation of form, associates ceramics directly with the art of sculpture, through the great name of Luca della Robbia, to whose school the Florentine pottery belongs. By Luca there are two or three large and fairly good pieces, one of them unfortunately much patched; that of the Madonna kneeling before her child, who lies among lilies, while a crown descends upon her head and two adoring cherubs watch the scene, is full of the artist's mystic grace; the other, in which the girl-mother caresses her babe, is more severe and monumental. Some imposing specimens of the great Italian buffet-pieces, the "piatti di pompa," are lent by Mr. S. L. M. Barlow; among his majoliches may be mentioned the Bassano plate with imitation of Persian decoration in pinks and violets; the Pesaro dish, with Baptism of the Virgin in many figures; a Faenza plate, with white ground, another of Castelli ne' Abruzzi; a dish of white perforated pattern with coat of arms; a dish of Treviso; and the large platter completely covered with a design of St. George and the dragon, and marked with the letter S. This group of Central-Italian pieces, with their bold, loud style, daring Renaissance models, large scale and rich color, are highly effective. In the Prime collection, a white glazed statue of Capo di Monte, and another Naples specimen—a plate showing a border of white and black, resembling an inlaid pattern of ivory on ebony—personify the impulse of South Italy. The porcelains of France are but imperfectly exhibited; we notice no contributions of Palissy pottery, and there are more gaps than stepping-stones until we come down to modern Sèvres, from which *fabrique*, under one of the late superintendents (Brongniart), there is an elaborate dinner-set; the plates are painted with antique heads, in arbitrary camaieu colors; the dessert dishes are encircled by a band of very rich yolk-of-egg yellow; a set of accompanying vases are adorned with highly finished miniatures of Louis XI., Francis I., and Henry IV.

The lessons originally due to Böttcher, and spread through Germany from the great centre of illumination at Dresden, are shown in a selection of specimens; there are pieces from the works (peremptorily established under experts transferred from Dresden by Frederick the Great) at Frankenthal and Höchst. The independent school existing since the fourteenth century in Holland, and a direct result from that nation's ancient traffic with Japan, is partly represented in the scattered pieces of Delft ware. Some of the last-century Dresden is adorned with the daintiest miniature painting; and a curious study of taste is afforded by the various and often fantastic decoration of the ware from Berlin, Fürstenberg, Marientberg, Ludwigsberg, and Nuremberg. The English potteries, save for one great name, do not in this collection make any great show; there are scattering pieces of Liverpool, Crown Derby, Worcester, Lowestoft, Chelsea, Copeland; but British credit is redeemed only in the exhibition of the various *chefs-d'œuvre* of Wedgwood, Staffordshire, including numbers of the Flaxman bas-reliefs, and a specimen, lent by H. G. Marquand, of Wedgwood's fac-simile of the Portland vase. Of all the pieces we have mentioned, not many would seem in a European museum immensely rare; but when we remember that they are simply such bits as can be spared from a good many private collections, and how fragile they are, how far from the scattered lands where they were born, and what hardy travellers they in their fragility have been through the chances of the seas, we must admit that they make a very creditable group, and a nucleus for a really valuable study of what may be called comparative pottery.

The Egyptian pottery, of which Mr. W. C. Prime lends a small but select group, includes a specimen which that gentleman asserts to be the oldest piece of glazed pottery with fixable date that he has seen; it is an elongated bead, covered with glass glaze, and assigned to the period of Amon'm'he III., fifth king of the XIIth Dynasty, at a date of about 2020 B.C. This vitreous enamel, almost choking the finer lines of the model, is seen in blue and other



colors on many of the little sacred images derived from tombs, and on many of the bead necklaces and ornaments accompanying mummies, a quantity of which are visible in this case. A very comical statuette from Es-Siout, on the other hand, is as modern as possible, being the contemporary Egyptian carver's notion of a Frankish lady; this small creature is strutting, with her chin in the air, mounted on a pair of high heels, and adorned with the ruff, the hat, the ear-drops, and overskirt of our own day; and a wonderful air of patronage she seems to wear in the face of the Pyramids. To balance this, we may smile at the dish made at Nankin in Queen Anne's time, and painted (as was the fashion) from an English design, in the large collection of old Chinese blue contributed by Mr. Robert Hoe, jr.; the device, traced with all the national fidelity, through which, however, the Chinese habit of hand is everywhere apparent, shows a kind of Pamela or Clarissa Harlowe mildly entertained by a couple of beaux resembling parsons, who play the flute and guitar for her diversion; the inevitable Eastern look, pervading the truly British ceremoniousness of the scene, almost caps the climax of absurdity; yet an English artist of the day would hardly have imitated a Chinese print so well. The richness of Mr. Hoe's collection in blue is rivalled by that which forms a part of Mr. Avery's loan; the extreme elegance both of design and color seen in Mr. Avery's cabinets of azure, and the liberal number of the pieces, offer unusual chances for comparison and study. In the same loan has been put together, with rare taste, a mass of Japanese and Chinese porcelains in the rarer hues, the éclat of the colors being much enhanced by felicity of arrangement; here we see deep blues, liver-color, ruby, and other fine tints in profusion, particularly one tiny bottle in mustard-color; crackle-ware, in its various caprices, is illustrated in the same contribution—the pattern being sometimes very large and open, sometimes minute as fine net, sometimes gradually shaded from large to fine over the surface of a single vessel, sometimes restricted to certain zones of a vase, while intermediate portions are completely clear; one tasteful specimen shows enamelled blossoms fixed upon the angles of a very open crackle, whose dark zigzags thus form the branch-work of a flowery composition. Most of these rarities, however, must yield in importance to the noble old porcelain vase of the Tehing-hoa period, of the fifteenth century, lent, we believe, by Mr. Barlow. This object, which at first sight looks like a moulding in chocolate, is in perfect preservation, the light playing over its pure dark surface as over bronze seven times polished; it is nearly eighteen inches high; the shape, imitated from a gourd

bottle, and severely simple, reveals better than a more elaborate one the fine state of the specimen, and its immunity from flaw.

The application of ceramics to architecture is a subject of great and growing interest, especially in this country, where carved decoration is almost excluded from its expensiveness, and where the problem of the immediate future will be to get all possible effect out of decorative brick-work. This consideration, and the imperishableness of pottery in all climates, give special value to the few tiles and to the Chinese architectural ornaments; by the latter we refer to the half-dozen fragments of the Porcelain Tower at Peking, whose last overthrow affords us these valuable studies of baked ornament. The effect of the strange animal forms, revealed at intervals through the confusion of leaves and scrolls, is highly piquant; it points to a possible realism in the decoration of edifices which perhaps only needs a little audacity and taste to be popular. Every color in nature seems to be almost equally in the resources of these Chinese potters; and we have only to learn their art and follow the hint of their architects to dress our buildings, if we so choose, in flowers and creepers of unfading bloom, with birds perching or mosses spreading, in the perfection of natural color. From such realistic motives of ornament our choice spreads all the way to the spiritual elevation of Luca and Andrea della Robbia, who, while they hung many a garland of plastic fruits and flowers over the walls of Florence, and covered the house-fronts of her nobles with escutcheons as large as cathedral windows, had the secret of making pottery no less dignified than marble, as repeatedly shown in the sacred statuary and alto-reliefs still remaining in the churches of the city. These white figures leaning out of spaces of sky-blue are more austere, perhaps, for their reticence of color, but not necessarily purer. Meantime, colors idealized or spiritualized by their strange haunting iridescence are afforded by the Saracen and Hispano-Moresco potteries. A few Persian and Saracen tiles, one of which is from the Mosque of Omar, have strayed into this collection, where they have a dispersed and lonely look. Their vitreous glazes are a hard and a stimulating lesson to the brick-maker. As soon as the present timid attempts to introduce tiles, colored reliefs, and terra-cotta friezes into architecture have become firmly embraced by the public understanding, the day of audacities and experiments will be sure to follow, out of which we may be sure some novelty will spring visibly adapted to modern times, and affording inevitably a great rôle for pottery.

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## THE WEEK IN TRADE AND FINANCE.

NOVEMBER 10.

ADVICES from London since our last have continued unfavorable. The Bank of England rate of discount was raised to 9 per cent. on Friday, and there is every probability that it will soon again be advanced. These advances in the bank rate have been precautionary, and made for the purpose of preventing a further outflow of specie from the Bank as well as attracting foreign capital toward London. It is probable that, with the high rate of interest for money prevailing in London, considerable amounts will be sent there from Germany. The specie in the Bank of England decreased during the week ending Thursday last £73,000, and the total specie reserve of the Bank is now stated to be under £20,000,000—a point below which it has never passed without causing anxiety.

The financial situation during the past week has improved, but at times the news which came from Philadelphia regarding the condition of certain parties there, connected with the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, and that the latter might not be able to pay the regular half-yearly dividend, exerted a depressing influence. On Wednesday, the news came that the paper of the California and Texas Construction Company had gone to protest. This company was engaged in building the Texas and Pacific Railroad, and the paper protested bore the endorsements of Mr. Thos. A. Scott and other gentlemen connected with the Pennsylvania Railroad Company. The failure of the Construction Company was brought about by incurring liabilities to the amount of some \$7,000,000, for \$4,500,000 of which the paper of the company, maturing within the next twelve months, was issued. Mr. Scott recently went to Europe to negotiate the first mortgage bonds of the Texas and Pacific Railroad Company, with the proceeds of which these floating liabilities of the Construction Company could be met; but, failing in his efforts to place the bonds, he returned to this country in time to see its financial collapse. Fortunately, the paper is held by wealthy parties, who can afford to lose. A meeting of creditors will most likely be held at an early period and an extension granted to the company. The troubles of the California and Texas Construction Company gave rise to unpleasant rumors about the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, and naturally so, as the leading officers in each corporation were the same; but these rumors were denied, and there is no reason to think that the troubles of the former have in any way affected the latter. On Friday, the question as to the payment of the Pennsylvania Railroad dividend was set at rest by the declaration of a 5 per cent. scrip dividend, redeemable March 1, 1875, the company having the option of redeeming it at any time after six months.

The creditors of the A. & W. Sprague Manufacturing Co. and A. & W. Sprague, of Providence, have consented to the appointment of trustees to take charge of the assets of the above-named concern, and a committee of five were appointed to take charge of the creditors' interests, and to name three parties to act as trustees, which they have done. The gentlemen selected as trustees have consented to serve, and are acceptable to both creditors and debtors. Messrs. H. B. Claffin & Co. have asked for and received an average extension of four and a half months on open accounts, and are at work putting themselves into shape to meet promptly their engagements when they again fall due. Messrs. Peake, Opdycke & Co. have resumed business, and affairs generally are in a more satisfactory condition than they were at the close of last week.

Money on call among stock brokers has been obtainable at 7 per cent. gold, though loans have been made both above and below this rate. Commercial paper is very dull, with rates nominal.

The banks have further strengthened themselves by the addition of legal tenders and gold to their reserve. The banks are said to hold at present \$23,210,000 legal tenders, and \$16,767,000 gold, making a total reserve of

\$39,977,000, against \$151,000,000 deposits and \$28,000,000 circulation, or a total of \$179,000,000 liabilities. Besides the above amount of liabilities, the banks have outstanding \$22,000,000 loan certificates, which, if counted in with the other liabilities, makes a total of \$201,000,000. A reserve of 25 per cent. in legal tenders and specie against this amount would be \$50,250,000, while the banks hold only \$39,977,000, thus showing that they are still \$10,273,000 below the legal requirement. Leaving out the loan certificates, the banks are but \$4,733,000 below their legal reserve.

In the stock market there is little to notice beyond a general weakness, which was occasioned by the Philadelphia rumors and troubles before alluded to. The expectation of a further advance in the Bank of England rate of discount, and the apprehension of trouble on the other side, have cast a gloomy feeling over the market. Prices, however, closed on Saturday at nearly the highest point of the day, which was due to the covering of short contracts by parties who did not care to go over Sunday with any interest in stocks.

The following shows the highest and lowest sales of the leading stocks at the Stock Exchange for the week ending November 8:

	Monday.	Tuesday.	Wed'day.	Thursday	Friday.	Saturday	Sales.
N. Y. C. & H. R....	80 1/2 88 1/2		77 1/2 81	73 80 1/2	77 1/2 80	78 1/2 80	122,200
Lake Shore.....	64 1/2 64 1/2		61 1/2 61 1/2	63 1/2 63 1/2	62 1/2 62 1/2	61 1/2 62 1/2	89,900
Erie.....	45 1/2 48 1/2		39 1/2 43 1/2	38 1/2 39 1/2	35 1/2 39 1/2	37 1/2 40 1/2	69,400
Do. pfd.....			64 1/2 64 1/2	62 1/2 62 1/2	56 1/2 56 1/2		
Union Pacific.....	16 1/2 16 1/2		15 1/2 16 1/2	13 1/2 16 1/2	15 1/2 16 1/2	15 1/2 16 1/2	25,900
Chl. & N. W.....	34 1/2 34 1/2		34 1/2 35 1/2	33 1/2 35 1/2	34 1/2 34 1/2	34 1/2 34 1/2	8,200
Do. pfd.....	57 59		56 56 1/2	53 1/2 54 1/2	53 1/2 53 1/2	53 1/2 54	3,100
N. J. Central.....	85 1/2 85 1/2		84 1/2 85 1/2	85 1/2 85 1/2	84 1/2 84 1/2	84 1/2 84 1/2	200
Rock Island.....	85 1/2 87 1/2		84 1/2 86 1/2	83 1/2 86 1/2	84 1/2 86 1/2	84 1/2 86 1/2	14,200
Mil. & St. Paul.....	23 1/2 25 1/2		23 1/2 24 1/2	22 1/2 23 1/2	22 1/2 23 1/2	22 1/2 23 1/2	14,300
Do. pfd.....	47 47		45 46 1/2	44 1/2 45 1/2	44 1/2 44 1/2	44 1/2 44 1/2	4,000
Wabash.....	35 1/2 37 1/2		35 1/2 35 1/2	36 1/2 36 1/2	34 1/2 35 1/2	35 1/2 35 1/2	31,400
D. L. & W.....	83 83		84 83 1/2	82 82 1/2	82 82 1/2		5,900
O. & M.....	21 1/2 23 1/2		21 1/2 21 1/2	22 1/2 22 1/2	21 1/2 22 1/2	22 1/2 22 1/2	16,700
C. C. & I. C.....	17 1/2 18 1/2		16 1/2 17 1/2	16 1/2 17 1/2	16 1/2 17 1/2	16 1/2 17 1/2	7,300
W. U. Tel.....	48 1/2 51 1/2		45 1/2 50 1/2	48 1/2 48 1/2	48 1/2 48 1/2	48 1/2 48 1/2	177,000
Pacific Mail.....	27 28 1/2		25 1/2 27 1/2	26 1/2 27 1/2	26 1/2 27 1/2	26 1/2 24	15,200

The Government bond market is lower, in sympathy with the lower price of gold here and the depression in the London market. In railroad bonds, a very moderate amount of business was transacted, and prices have remained steady. Holders of good bonds evince no disposition to sell at current market quotations. The *Financial Chronicle* gives the following list of bonds, the coupons upon which were passed November 1:

	Interest payable.	Place of payment.
Burlington, Cedar Rapids & Minnesota gold 7s.....	\$189,000	N. Y. or London.
Burlington & Southwestern 1st mortgage 8s.....	72,000	Boston.
Chesapeake & Ohio 1st mortgage gold 6s.....	450,000	New York.
Chicago & Michigan Lake Shore 8s of 1871.....	54,000	Boston.
Kansas Pacific:		
First mortgage land grant gold 7s.....	225,925	N. Y., London & Frankfurt.
Leavenworth Bridge 7s.....	21,000	N. Y. & St. Louis.
Leavenworth, Lawrence & Galveston:		
Kansas City & Santa Fe 10s.....	36,000	Boston.
New York & Oawego Midland:		
Second mortgage convertible 7s.....	87,500	New York.
Second mortgage non-convertible 7s.....	82,500	New York.
Peninsula of Michigan 1st mortgage gold 7s.....	97,365	New York.
Port Huron & Lake Michigan 1st mortgage 7s.....	63,000	New York.
St. Louis & St. Joseph 1st mortgage gold 6s.....	30,000	New York.
St. Paul & Pacific:		
First mortgage main line land grant gold 7s.....	105,000	London.
Second mortgage main line land grant gold 7s.....	210,000	London.
Union Pacific, Central Branch, 1st mortgage gold 6s.....	48,000	New York.
Total.....	\$1,741,190	

Gold has further declined, and on Thursday the lowest point since June, 1862, was reached—106 1/2. The demand for coin is very light, both for mercantile and speculative uses, and has gone down, as any other commodity does, when there is no use for it. The raising of the Bank of England discount rate caused a reaction from the low price of Thursday, and sales have since been made as high as 107 3/4. The range of fluctuations during the week was between 106 1/2 and 107 3/4, closing at 107 1/2 on Saturday.

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